

### *Commonwealth's arthritis*

The Prime Ministers representing the nations of the British Commonwealth at their meeting in London in early January seemed to be suffering from ideological arthritis. Of the 600 million people constituting this loose association of nations under the symbol of the British Crown, three-fourths are Asiatics. The Republic of India, with a population of nearly 350 million, enjoys a marked preponderance as far as population goes. Prime Minister Nehru, as the outstanding political figure in non-Communist Asia, understandably wields great influence in the councils of the Commonwealth. The trouble is that Nehru is a rather woolly-minded Socialist and, up to a point, a Gandhi pacifist. To make things worse, India's Sardar F. Panikkar, Ambassador to Peiping, is the only go-between the Commonwealth has with Red China. Britain's Labor Government, under pressure of commercial interests, has tried to come to terms with Mao Tse-tung. Australia seems more concerned about the revival of Japan's military power than Soviet expansion. Surprisingly, Canada's Prime Minister St. Laurent gave no evidence of trying to counter the indulgent policy towards Mao revealed in the Minister's communique of January 9. Australia and New Zealand, which should be acutely concerned with their security in the Pacific, contributed only 2,400 men to the UN forces in Korea. Canada organized a battalion of 1,200, very late in the day, and then decided to send them to Europe. The Commonwealth is dragging its feet, not only because the Attlee Government is afraid it could not get popular support for a war in Asia, but because its Asiatic and Pacific members are misappraising the issues. No wonder American public opinion is reacting badly to our reverses in Korea.

### *Crackdown on the missions*

Three months ago this Review pointed out that Red China was slowly throttling religious missionary work among its people (AM. 10/7/50, p. 3). The Communist regime was about to "reform" Christianity by establishing a completely indigenous Church free of foreign "imperialist" ties. Apparently the "reform" is well on its way toward completion. On January 5 a report from Hong Kong announced that an exodus of American Protestant missionaries from China could be expected. Large groups had applied to the Communist authorities for permission to leave the country. The rush for exit visas has been precipitated by two recent decrees of the Peiping regime. On December 28 the Communists announced that all American property would be seized and all bank deposits frozen. They followed this with a proclamation on December 30 announcing that all American-subsidized cultural, educational and medical organizations were to be taken over by the Government or to be operated as private bodies by the Chinese people. Catholic missionaries will apparently stick it out, even though, as a recent Maryknoll press release informs us, any hope that American missionaries will be left free to carry on their work has been dispelled. Arrests of both

## CURRENT COMMENT

Catholic and Protestant missionaries are following a definite pattern, aimed at showing Christianity up as a tool of "foreign imperialism." Blinded by the basic Communist hatred for religion, the Reds are either unable or unwilling to conceive that a missionary can be interested solely in the welfare of his flock and that he is trying to help the Chinese people without seeking anything in return. Does Dr. John R. Mackay, president of Princeton Theological Seminary, still think that Communist China has no quarrel with Christianity (AM. 9/9/50, p. 571)?

### *Controls on meat*

"As soon as we can, we'll make a try of it," said Alan Valentine, ESA director, in a copyrighted interview published in the January 12 issue of *U. S. News and World Report*. "And it will be a big try." The ESA boss was talking about price lids on meat, the cost of which has been making housewives very angry. We wish Mr. Valentine all the luck in the world. He will need it. To crack down on farm prices is just about the toughest job, politically and economically, in the country; and of all farm prices, meat prices are hardest to control. Witness the instant reaction of livestock producers to Mr. Valentine's words. Said Loren Bamert, president of the American Livestock Association:

You all know that in World War II we had price controls; we had rationing. The record shows that as a result large quantities of meat were diverted from the regular channels of trade to the black market . . . The only permanent cure for high prices of meat, or of any other product, is to increase the production to put supply in balance with demand.

Mr. Bamert is partly right. We did have price controls on meat and rationing during World War II. We also had the most flourishing and flagrant black market in the country. World War II experience certainly suggests that any effort ESA makes to control meat prices will generate a black market and be an expensive failure. This will happen because, as Mr. Bamert did not say, too many cattle growers are so greedy, so unpatriotic, so wanting in a sense of justice and a spirit of charity that they will defeat, by widespread non-compliance, any effort to fix a fair price on meat. That is what Mr. Valentine is up against.

### **Are communal shelters the answer?**

After vigorous prodding by State and municipal authorities, the Eighty-first Congress approved and sent to the President a bill providing for a \$3.1-billion civil-defense program, with \$2.25 billion earmarked for the construction of "Communal-type shelters." For this purpose, the Federal Government would contribute \$1.25 billion, on condition that States and municipalities matched that amount. Ruefully recalling the "boondoggling" that followed 100 per-cent Federal grants during the last war, Congress wrote into the bill a prohibition against Federal contributions to any construction "intended for use, in whole or in part, for any purpose other than civil defense." Thus no Federal funds may be used for so-called "dual purpose shelters" such as the underground garages suggested by a number of the nation's mayors. The bill does, however, authorize the RFC to lend up to \$250 million for this purpose. These provisions have been sharply attacked by Governors Dewey of New York and Driscoll of New Jersey whose States, on the basis of their "urban populations in primary target areas," are entitled to almost one-fifth of the total Federal funds available. Governor Dewey would like Federal funds for self-liquidating dual-purpose projects, especially underground garages and subway extensions. Governor Driscoll calls the communal shelter provisions "unrealistic." New Jersey has been planning to use "substantial existing structures" as shelters. We ourselves are opposed to restricting the use of Federal funds to the construction of new communal shelters. For one thing, we doubt whether, as the emergency grows, enough manpower, materials or time will be available. Moreover, the proposed outlay would provide shelters for a very small fraction of the populace. The entire subway-shelter program suggested by the New York Board of Transportation, costing \$104 million, would accommodate only 101,500 persons. This might seriously impair the public morale, as Dr. Irving L. Janis of Yale has indicated, discussing the psychological problems of A-bomb defense in the August-September, 1950 *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*.

### **... or shelters closer home?**

The Federal civil defense bill does allow Federal funds to be given on a 50-50 basis for the adapting

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of any section of a structure to exclusive use for civil defense. In the absence of any official interpretation to the contrary, we would judge that this clause would seem to apply to the basements of hotels, office buildings, stores, apartment houses, and even of residences. Governor Dewey claims that this exception "would not involve more than one per cent of the cost of dual-purpose shelters feasible in New York." That percentage, it would appear, depends on your definition of dual-purpose shelters. The buildings referred to above, with the reinforcements suggested by the experts, would seem to be real dual-purpose shelters. Dr. Janis, calling homemade shelters the best way of preventing panic, suggests that

the Government might be able to give additional encouragement to the homemade-shelter program by providing certain types of available materials free or at a nominal cost and by setting up in each community a board of local construction experts who would be able to give advice and to inspect homemade shelters . . . for the purpose of suggesting simple ways of improving them.

If the Federal-plus-State funds were applied to reinforcing existing structures and to assisting in a widespread homemade-shelter program, the available dollars would go far toward reassuring a public that wants above all a shelter close at hand.

### **Labor and management dine**

New York's Union Club has seen many a gathering of the high and mighty but none, we venture to suggest, more intriguing than the one which assembled there for dinner on the night of January 3. Among those present were the heads of the AFL and CIO, William Green and Philip Murray, John L. Lewis of the Mineworkers, Al Hayes, president of the Machinists, Alfred Sloan, board chairman of General Motors, Benjamin Fairless of U. S. Steel, Fowler McCormick, president of International Harvester, war mobilization czar Charles E. Wilson (in a private capacity), Lewis Brown of Johns-Manville, and Eric Johnston, president of the Motion Picture Producers Association. Though not the first time leaders of U. S. industry and labor have met informally to discuss mutual problems, this meeting, which was promoted by Mr. Johnston, assumed special significance in view of the national emergency. It was very "hush-hush," and reporters who closed in for a big story went back to their city desks with empty hands. The press was not able to report much beyond the fact that the dinner had been held and that the gentlemen mentioned above had been present. Through a bit of reportorial luck, we are able to add a few details. Those in attendance all agreed that the nation was confronted with a most serious threat to its security. There was further agreement that labor and management had to do a bang-up production job, and that neither could countenance a work stoppage over essentially trivial disputes. There was a decision, taken in the most friendly atmosphere, to meet regularly, about once a month, to deal with problems as they arose. Finally, the pleasant, gracious,

winning Mr. Lewis was present, not the stubborn, frowning, surly character so well known to the public. It is a pleasure to report all this, since the men who amicably gathered at the Union Club represent so much economic power that they can practically determine the course of labor-management relations. We regret, however, that equally important farm leaders were not present. Perhaps these can be invited to join the group before the next meeting.

#### **German labor-management crisis**

The news from Germany that a half-million metal-workers had voted to strike on February 1 to enforce labor's demand for "co-determination" (*Mitbestimmung*) signalized the breakdown of a laudable and up till now friendly effort to give employees a voice in industry. Last summer, leaders of labor and management, with the Bonn Government's minister of labor presiding, spent three fruitful days in seclusion at the famous Benedictine monastery on the shore of Maria Laach. As the "retreat" came to an end, there was a well-grounded hope that an acceptable formula for co-determination had been found. (The whole story is told in the January number of the *Catholic Mind*.) Apparently, once away from the peaceful cloisters, the participants relapsed into old habits of suspicion and rivalry, and now the issue seems fated to be decided by economic force. The big differences are mainly two. The trade unions insist that labor leaders be qualified to sit on the shop councils whether they work in the plant or not, whereas employers demand that only employees be admitted to the councils. In the second place, the unions want the councils to determine general economic policy, as well as conditions of work. The employers, though willing to grant the councils consultative status, insist that they retain the ultimate power to make economic decisions. In a convention at Gelsenkirchen on July 15, the Catholic Workers Movement—a cultural organization, not a trade union—agreed with the employers that workers on the plant councils should be employees. For this action it was publicly criticized by the Trade Union Federation, in which Social Democrats were predominant. As matters stand now, the Government can head off industrial warfare only by legislating a form of co-determination satisfactory to both sides. AMERICA has published several articles on the European dispute over labor's right in management (7/15, 7/22, 8/5/50), which is now coming to a head in Western Germany.

#### **Rules tyranny restored**

The Eighty-second Congress came into being at noon on January 3. Within four hours it had fired a warning shot across the bows of the Administration, in the shape of a House resolution which, by 244 votes to 179, restored to the House Rules Committee the powers of obstruction taken from it at the opening of the Eighty-first Congress in 1949. The Rules Committee is regarded as the "traffic cop" of the House, chan-

neling bills from the other committees to the floor of the House for debate. Over the years it acquired the power to hold up bills indefinitely, and often refused to send a bill to the floor until it was modified in accordance with the Rules Committee's ideas. Apart from certain complicated parliamentary maneuvers, the only feasible way of overriding the Rules' objection was by a discharge petition, which required the signature of 218 Representatives. To frustrated Congressmen, the eleven-man Rules Committee often looked more like a kangaroo court than a traffic cop. With two Southern Democrats joined to its four Republican members, the Rules Committee could, and did, bottle up civil-rights and other Fair Deal legislation. Under Administration pressure, the Eighty-first Congress provided that after the Rules Committee had held a bill for twenty-one days, the chairman of the committee reporting the bill could call it up, if the House leadership consented. This privilege was used eight times during the Eighty-first Congress; all eight bills concerned were passed by the House. Now, at the opening of the Eighty-second Congress, a coalition of 152 Republicans and 92 Democrats (the latter mostly from the South) voted to go back to the old system.

#### **... a bad omen**

The House action in restoring the powers of its Rules Committee was a bad omen for the President's Fair Deal program. It may be an even worse omen for the welfare of the nation at this critical time. The needs of the hour demand, as the President reminded Congress in his State of the Union message, debate that is "earnest, responsible, constructive and to the point." In an access of folly the anti-Administration forces have made it possible for half-a-dozen Congressmen to ensure that measures they dislike shall never reach the floor for debate. At a moment when Congress should be most fully geared for action, a majority of the House of Representatives has thrown sand in the gears.

#### **British papal envoy dies**

The death of the British diplomatic representative to the Holy See in Rome on January 8 may possibly have caused some surprise in the United States to those who did not even know that the land of "No Popery" had official relations with the Pope. Sir John V. T. Perowne, who died at the age of 53, was a career diplomat in the British Foreign Service. He had been envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the Holy See since 1947. British diplomatic relations with the Holy See go back to December, 1914 when Sir Edward Grey dispatched Sir Henry Howard to the newly elected Benedict XV for the purpose of "laying before him the motives which compelled His Majesty's Government, after exhausting every effort in their power to preserve the peace of Europe, to intervene in the present war, and of informing him of their attitude toward the various questions that arise therefrom." After the war Lloyd George determined to continue

the mission on the basis of its proven worth. To overcome the objections of some Protestant groups, he named a non-Catholic as titulary of the post, with a Catholic as first secretary. As London has never received a papal nuncio at the Court of St. James, the diplomatic relations of the Holy See with Great Britain are not reciprocal. The status of Catholics in the British Isles or the Commonwealth was not altered by the existence of official relations between the King and the Pope. Sir John, like his predecessor, not a Catholic, was known to his colleagues as an extremely well-informed diplomat who made the best use possible of the opportunities presented by this unusual diplomatic post. The death of the British envoy, who was also the official representative of those members of the Commonwealth which do not have their own diplomatic agents at the Vatican, comes at a moment when demands are being made in Canada for direct representation independent of the British legation to the Holy See.

#### **Western German youth organizes**

In 1945, German youth was disorganized, dispirited, existing in a social vacuum. The *Hitlerjugend* was no more, and the Occupying Powers had not yet faced up to the problem that German youth had to be given a rallying point if it was to be won over to democracy. Toward the end of that year the various military governments took their first fumbling steps to offer chances for organization to the millions of German youngsters. In the Soviet zone and the Soviet sector of Berlin the youth were regimented into the Communist "Free German Youth." What has happened in the Western zones and Western Berlin? The Office of the U. S. High Commissioner for Germany, in its July 1-September 30, 1950 Report, reveals that about three million German young people are now actively engaged in organized youth activities in all the Western zones. In the U. S. zones and sector the picture is notably heartening. Here is the breakdown of the million-and-a-half members of the various organizations and groups:

Religious groups	
Catholic	350,000
Protestant	220,000
Sports organizations	500,000
Trade union groups	200,000
Rural youth associations	70,000
<i>Die Falken</i> (Socialist youth)	40,000
Hiking clubs	25,000
<i>Naturfreunde</i> (non-party but leftish nature-study club)	22,000
Various cultural groups	30,000
Miscellaneous organizations	50,000
Boy Scouts	10,000
Free German Youth (Communist)	10,000

Two observations impose themselves. The religious organizations, with the Church in the lead, have the most widespread appeal—even surpassing sports. Second, the feeble appeal of the Communist youth program in the West points up its synthetic and imposed character in Russian-dominated Germany.

#### **The Mass and the masses**

The best church attendance in the world fails of its full purpose if there remains a gulf between the priest at the altar and the people in the pews. And too often there is such a gulf. Many Catholics go regularly to Mass without much idea that the Mass is a communal act of worship and that they have a part to play in offering it. Yet, once give them that idea, and they are eager to take some outward part, by voice or ceremony, in the act which is the center of our Catholic life. Pope Pius XII, in his great encyclical on the liturgy, *Mediator Dei*, clearly indicates how such popular participation in the Mass is possible, even under existing regulations and customs. In an article in the November 4 issue of this Review, Rev. John Delaney, S.J., told of his success in teaching the dialog Mass to students at the University of the Philippines. Mary Stack McNiff, in the December 16 Boston *Pilot*, described the technique used by Rev. William Leonard, S.J., of Boston College. On Sunday afternoons, in a parish church, the ceremonies of the Mass are enacted by a priest of the Boston Archdiocese, while Fr. Leonard, from the pulpit, explains their meaning. The congregation joins in the chant and responses. The enthusiasm aroused by this experiment raises a question: why not make this year, when the Holy Year is extended to the whole world, a year of all-out effort in the United States to bring knowledge and love of the Mass to the masses?

#### **A spot of serendipity**

While looking up the late Wilfrid Meynell in the British *Who's Who* we made the pleasant discovery that he had listed his recreation as "Serendipity." This is indeed a most fitting recreation for one in the evening of life; though Mr. Meynell, as we shall see, was proficient in it at the age of 36. It may well be that his serendipity was at least in part responsible for Mr. Meynell's having reached the ripe old age of 96 when he died in 1948. Serendipity puts no particular strain on the physical frame. Rather it provides from time to time a gentle emotional elevation, with perhaps a slight stimulation of the adrenal glands, which cannot but be beneficial for one of advanced years. The word "serendipity" itself may be ultimately derived, as any Sanskrit scholar will tell you, from *Sinhaladvipa*, a Sanskrit word the meaning of which escapes us for the moment. Anyway, *Serendib*, a former name for the island of Ceylon, is a possible corruption of *Sinhaladvipa*. It appears in the form *Serendip* in a fairy tale, *The Three Princes of Serendip*. The three princes, it seems, had in a high degree the faculty of making happy and unexpected discoveries. Horace Walpole, who, on January 28, 1754, coined the word "serendipity" to describe this faculty, adds that the discoveries were due to "accidents and sagacity." That Wilfrid Meynell met both qualifications will be clear to those who remember his most famous exercise of serendipity—the discovery of the poet, Francis Thompson, in 1888.

## WASHINGTON FRONT

The Administration did not seem nearly so concerned over Senator Taft's speech in the Senate on January 5, opening the Great Debate there on American foreign policy, as it was over his earlier statement, last month in Ohio, showing lack of confidence in our military leaders, and his off-the-cuff remark after his Senate speech to the effect that he would bomb Western Europe's industries if that were necessary to keep Russia from using them against us.

After all, his Senate speech was so hedged around with qualifications that when these were discounted his position was seen to be not very far from the Truman-Acheson position, certainly much nearer to it than either Herbert Hoover's or John Foster Dulles'. But the two remarks cited above might incite distrust both among our own people and Europeans. And also, as with the Ives resolution and the Hoover speech, the timing was unfortunate, coming as it did just the day before General Eisenhower left for Europe.

Senator Taft's main disagreement with the Administration, that the President does not have the power to send troops abroad, is controverted by the State Department, which has amassed precedents to the contrary, beginning with our action against the Barbary pirates, and going all through China, Cuba, Haiti, Nicaragua and Mexico. Besides, we already have many troops and airmen in Europe, and sending more would be just normal reinforcement.

As to Mr. Taft's many if's, that is precisely what General Eisenhower's present tour of Europe is for: to find out if reservations like Mr. Taft's are valid or not, particularly concerning the will and ability of Western Europe to join with us in collective security. Certainly, few people in our history have had such a heavy burden put on them as has the General. If he reports back on his return in February that Europe cannot be defended, his responsibility will be enormous. If he advises in favor of defending Europe, even against its will, then he also has to take the risk that we will suffer an even greater defeat than in Korea, an irrevocable one, which Korea is not.

It is safe to say that policy-makers in the State and Defense Department had entertained the doubts and hesitations of Messrs. Hoover and Taft, long before these two had expressed them in public. It was felt that nobody could assess the validity of these doubts better than the soldier and diplomat Eisenhower is conceded to be. That is also why Administration leaders would like to postpone the major parts of the Great Debate until after Eisenhower's return, both because we will not know what to do until he reports, and to avoid embarrassing him on his mission more than he has been embarrassed already, or than Acheson was before him.

WILFRID PARSONS

## UNDERSCORINGS

The Catholic Committee of the South will hold its annual convention at Columbia, S. C., January 22-24. Featured speaker will be Charles Malik, chairman, Lebanese delegation to the UN General Assembly.

► On December 28 the *Church World*, organ of the Portland, Me., diocese, carried the news that an anonymous donor has given \$500,000 for a new Cheverus High School, to be owned and operated by the Society of Jesus. The present Cheverus High is run by the Fathers of the Society for the Diocese of Portland. Rev. Robert A. Hewitt, S.J., rector of the Jesuits in Portland, said that construction would start in the spring.

► In a striking sermon on New Year's Eve, Most Rev. William Hafey, Bishop of Scranton, spoke as if he were addressing his flock on the eve of the year 2000, in a world of peace and justice, brought about by Our Lady of Fatima. We were very pleased to notice, from a reference in the sermon, that one of the things available on that future night will be a file of the volumes of AMERICA.

► A correspondent from Belfast, Ireland, tells us that the Redemptorist Fathers there are continuing the Sunday-evening sermons and question periods for non-Catholics described in AMERICA for February 18, 1950. The latest service was held December 18, 1950. Our informant writes: "Fog, ice, then deep snow hindered the attendance. About 400-600 was the norm."

► The first supplement to *Books for Catholic Colleges* has just been published by the American Library Association, Chicago, Ill. Under 16 headings it lists 608 books published in 1948 and 1949. Votes on books to be included were obtained from 21 Catholic colleges by the compilers—Sister Melanie Grace, S.C., Seton Hill College, Greensburg, Pa.; Rev. Gilbert C. Peterson, S.J., St. Mary's College, St. Marys, Kansas; Rev. Ambrose Burke, T.O.R., College of Steubenville, Ohio.

► On January 7 Jefferson Caffery, at present U. S. Ambassador to Egypt, completed twenty-five years of service as chief of mission in various diplomatic posts throughout the world. Mr. Caffery, a native of Lafayette, La., received an honorary LL.D. from the Catholic University in 1941, the Las Americas Award from *Sign* magazine in 1943 and the Catholic Action Medal of St. Bonaventure College in 1944.

► Seton Hall College, Jersey City, N. J., will open its new law school with first-year courses on February 5, in morning and evening classes. Dr. Miriam T. Rooney, associate professor of law at Catholic University, has been chosen to head the new school. This brings the number of U. S. Catholic law schools to twenty.

C. K.

## **Well done, Mr. President**

For days the news from Korea had been bad. The second-guessers — some of whom had applauded the decision last June to resist the North Koreans — were playing dangerously with the tortured reactions of a frightened, disillusioned public. Only a few days before, a voice had been heard in the Senate chamber challenging the authority by which American troops had been placed at the disposal of the United Nations. The debate on foreign policy loosed by the critical speeches of Joseph P. Kennedy, former U. S. Ambassador to Great Britain, and ex-President Herbert Hoover, was in full and angry process. A new Congress had assembled which, though Democratic in name, would march to tunes called by an anti-Administration coalition.

Such was the grim background against which President Harry S. Truman delivered the traditional State of the Union message on January 8. In the language of the day, he was on the spot. He faced a deadly serious challenge to his prestige, to his authority, to his ability to lead the American people at the most critical period in their history. The men sitting before him had the power to wreck the foreign policy which, haltingly, step by step, he had built up over the past three years. They could turn this great nation aside from the path of manifest destiny—in a proper sense—a destiny which cast it in the heavy but glorious role of buttressing the free nations of the world against the barbarian forces of Communist aggression, and send it down the obscure byways of defeatism and escapism charted by the Wherrys and Jenners, the Hoovers and Kennedys.

Those byways were beguiling, God knows, to a war-weary, peace-loving people, to a people unaccustomed to the burden of world leadership and still longing to live, despite the atomic bomb, in the comfortable security of their oceanic frontiers. The public reaction to Mr. Hoover's speech, as the White House noted, had shown that only too well.

Could the pilot cope with the gathering storm? Could he meet the challenge to his leadership, solidify the people's faith, restore the shattered confidence of our wavering European allies?

These questions were in our minds as we hurried through lunch and gathered before the television screen. If the truth must be told, some of our editors doubted whether the President could rise to the challenge. As the President proceeded, the hopes of the doubting rose. This was almost a new Harry Truman. This was a leader who spoke with assurance. This was a man who knew how to stir up some enthusiasm. And this was a man who had somewhere found the imagination and flexibility needed to cope with a hostile and powerful minority.

That last point is important. A capable leader must know how to appeal to the emotions as well as to the intellect. Mr. Truman's restatement of the principles underlying the Atlantic Pact, which the Holy Father

## **EDITORIALS**

clearly approved in his Christmas Eve broadcast, was logical and satisfying to the mind. At several points in his exposition he was stopped by what sounded like fairly generous applause. But the applause was noticeably louder when the President announced that he had dispatched one of our greatest soldiers on a difficult mission to Europe, and that everyone ought to back up General Eisenhower. That was an excellent touch.

So was Mr. Truman's reference to cutting down on non-essential Government spending, as well as his general de-emphasis of the Fair Deal program. A stubborn fighter, it must have been difficult for him to bend before the Southern Democrat-conservative Republican blast. Economy, yes. This is not the hour for unnecessary peacetime projects. But to abandon civil-rights measures, to make no militant demand for anti-lynching legislation, or for a fair employment practices law — that was hard. Even though a man might regret the necessity of the compromise, as we heartily do, he must still admire the flexibility which made it possible. For without flexibility, no American President can win an unfriendly Congress to his side and unite his people.

The wave of applause which greeted the conclusion of the President's 3,500-word address was a good measure of its success. It was, we believe, the best speech of his career, even though (for security reasons?) it ignored our future course in Korea and the Far East generally. Those who were impressed, unduly it seems to us, by the Kennedy and Hoover addresses, would do well to ponder this one.

## **Taft, Truman and the Constitution**

In his 10,000-word address on foreign policy, delivered in the Senate on January 5, Senator Taft stated categorically 1) that the President "had no authority whatever to commit American troops to Korea . . . without congressional approval," and 2) that if Mr. Truman or Secretary Acheson had undertaken to commit U. S. troops to Europe, "before or during a war," they were "usurping the authority given by law . . ." We intend to deal with Mr. Taft's foreign policy next week. Our present concern is with his constitutional opinions.

Mr. Taft asserts, without a word of qualification, that the President "simply usurped authority in vi-

lation of the laws and the Constitution" when he dispatched U. S. troops to Korea. This is covering a lot of territory.

The authority of the President to dispose of the armed forces of the United States, independently of Congress, even where actual fighting is involved, is an old constitutional problem. In 1945, James Grafton Rogers brought together about 150 precedents in a booklet published by the World Peace Foundation, entitled *World Policing and the Constitution*. Not all of these precedents, by any means, involved actual fighting. Even where fighting took place, many of the precedents had to do with the use of U. S. troops or naval forces to protect the property and persons of American citizens. Still, they are all relevant.

Our interest in Korea arose out of an entirely new situation, the status of Korea under the UN and our commitment under the Charter, moral and political, rather than strictly legal, to join with other nations in stopping aggression. It is interesting to note that in his *Total War and the Constitution*, Professor Corwin, judging from precedents, predicted that the President would most likely act in such a crisis exactly the way he did act.

The next question is this: what do these precedents mean? Are they merely a disgraceful record of "usurpations" and "violations" by our Presidents? Or have they in the meantime become part of our constitutional system?

Quite a few constitutional lawyers take the position that these precedents have actually extended the powers of the President beyond the terms of the written Constitution. *Custom*, after all, is a source of law. Every textbook on American Government puts it down as a source of constitutional law. Authorities of the standing of John W. Davis, Philip C. Jessup and Quincy Wright, in addition to Mr. Rogers, take this view. Professor Edward S. Corwin of Princeton, probably the greatest authority in the country on the subject of American constitutional history, treats their opinion with respect.

Under these circumstances, Mr. Taft seems to have tried to convey a much oversimplified version of the constitutional issue he raised. He might at least have indicated that his opinion was not the only one in the field.

The Senator's constitutional position on the North Atlantic pact is even weaker. There is nothing in our Constitution to prevent the President, independently of Congress, from committing more U. S. troops to Europe before a war. Whether it would be wise to follow such a policy, under the circumstances, is quite a different question.

There is, of course, a great deal more to be said on this subject. We have no intention of trying to exhaust it in an editorial. We do think that if a Senator sees fit to raise such highly complicated constitutional issues, he ought to show some little regard for the great body of doctrine which has evolved on them over the past century and a half.

## The UN still falters

Were it not for the tragic consequences of the Chinese intervention in Korea for the battle-weary GI, the antics of the UN these past few weeks would be nothing short of sheer comedy. Despite the frantic efforts of a Chinese Red army to push the UN forces off the peninsula, certain UN delegations appeared to be toying with the idea that the Peiping regime might still accept a cease-fire proposal.

On January 5 the United States, which has supplied the bulk of the UN forces in Korea, finally laid its cards on the table. The American delegation circulated a note at Lake Success among twenty-two member nations asking them to condemn Red China as an aggressor, to impose economic sanctions and to sever diplomatic relations with the Peiping regime. Immediately American delegate Warren R. Austin ran into trouble. Few of the non-Communist bloc would go all the way. Even if he could get a two-thirds majority on the first proposal, to condemn the aggression, there would be enough abstentions to indicate a serious split in the non-Soviet bloc in the UN. Resistance to the second and third proposals, to apply diplomatic and economic sanctions, would be stronger still.

Why is it so difficult to get the UN to face reality in the matter of Chinese intervention in Korea? Part of the answer can be found in the accounts of the Commonwealth Conference recently held in London, where admission of Red China to the UN was a more popular topic of discussion than condemnation of Red China for its aggressive war on Korea.

The Prime Ministers of the Commonwealth countries were apparently much impressed by Pandit Nehru's thesis that Red China "really wants peace." The proximity of the UN armies to the northern border of Korea, maintained Nehru, aroused deep suspicions in a China which has already twice suffered attacks on Manchuria from Korean bases. The first was launched by Tsarist Russia, the second by Japan. Red China, therefore, wants proof that "the United States has no aggressive intentions toward China" before she calls off the dogs.

But how much proof does Red China want? She has already rejected the proposals of a UN cease-fire committee, to which the United States had agreed. She has treated the UN with scorn and still shakes her bludgeon at the organization. Mr. Nehru's vaunted understanding of Asiatic psychology is apparently less reliable than the frank propaganda of the Peiping regime, which preaches the "liberation" of all Korea.

Furthermore, if the UN formally denounces Red China as an aggressor, additional measures would be expected (the diplomatic and economic sanctions provided by the UN Charter) to back up the initial step. The inevitability of such sanctions is causing many members of the non-Communist bloc in the UN to shy away from a stern attitude toward the Chinese Communists. In the case of countries trading with China, notably Great Britain, diplomatic recognition

is closely tied up with economic relations. Hence countries which have established diplomatic relations to protect investments in China will think twice before breaking those ties. Besides, they argue, economic sanctions are useless against a country with 5,000 miles of coast, infested with smugglers.

Yet if some form of coercion is not exercised against Red China, the UN is in danger of sharing the fate of the League of Nations. China has challenged the first peace-enforcement measure the organization has attempted. If complete economic sanctions are not feasible, at least an economic boycott, denying China certain key commodities such as oil and steel, is possible. Since the cease-fire committee momentarily expects a report from the UN commission in Korea amounting to another admission of failure, it is hard to see how the rupture of diplomatic relations can eventually be side-stepped. We fail to see how these measures must necessarily provoke a major war with China, as some observers are warning us.

True, condemnation of China's aggression, even though it is followed up by diplomatic sanctions and an economic boycott, cannot completely neutralize Red China, so long as the UN lacks the physical force to repel Mao's aggression. In the long run such measures will prove an unsatisfactory answer to Peiping's belligerence, as many of our friends in the UN seem to maintain. Yet the UN must take some action. Last June the world body declared aggression morally wrong and did what it could to right the wrong. It cannot shirk its obligations today and expect to survive.

## Big Four conference

On January 8 the Vatican made an announcement of more than passing significance. General Dwight D. Eisenhower, a special dispatch to the New York *Times* reported, would be received in audience by Pope Pius during his two-day visit to Rome in January. There would be no regular audiences from January 14 to 20, as the Holy Father and his whole staff would be in spiritual seclusion, but a special exception would be made for the General if he came to Rome during that period.

How explain the timing and the tone of this unusual announcement? The *Times* dispatch hints at one reason, though it does not assign it directly to the announcement. The Vatican, it says, has been "greatly perturbed" by the efforts of the Italian extreme left-wing press to read "a change of Vatican attitude" toward the conflict between East and West into the Pope's Christmas and New Year's messages. The Vatican's embarrassment was increased, the dispatch adds, by the fact that some notoriously anti-Communist papers in Western Europe made the same deduction. Vatican quarters were then quoted as saying that while both messages had made strong pleas for peace, this represented no change in the Vatican's position.

The fact seems to be that both the left-wing and the right-wing press, as well as the "neutralist" press, believe that the Vatican's attitude towards

atheistic communism has changed from stern opposition to something approaching appeasement because, in both messages, he made somewhat veiled appeals for negotiation of East-West differences. In his Christmas message he said:

The grim and threatening danger imperiously demands, by reason of its gravity, that we make the most of every opportune circumstance to bring about the triumph of wisdom and justice under the standard of concord and peace.

To the diplomatic corps accredited to the Vatican he declared on New Year's Day: "These ends [to solve conflicts and re-establish peace] can be reached only by agreements freely and loyally accepted."

The announcement of the Eisenhower audience, emphasizing as it did the approval of the North Atlantic Treaty voiced in the Pope's Christmas message, would seem therefore designed as a corrective of the impression of appeasement which some drew from his recent statements. The fact that such a device was deemed necessary, however, strikingly illustrates the difficulties in which the leaders of the free peoples find themselves today. They must denounce Soviet Russia as the enemy, and organize their peoples to resist its relentless advance. Yet they dare not slam the door on even the possibility of new negotiations. And the moment they mention a conference, they are labeled appeasers.

The difficulties are illustrated by the current discussions of another Big Four conference. To the original Russian request of November 3 for a conference on the demilitarization of Germany, the Western Big Three countered with a request for an omnibus agenda. The Russian reply January 1, while insisting on priority for the German question, indicated some willingness to discuss broadening the agenda. Lengthy preliminaries are inevitable, but so, we believe, is another conference.

The reasons are not far to seek. Britain and France are almost pathetically eager for another meeting. The United States must go along, despite its profound misgivings, or risk a break with its major allies. Our own people will not be reconciled to the increasingly severe sacrifices of the defense effort unless they are convinced that the Government has exhausted every diplomatic means of averting open war. Besides, if we refuse to meet the Russians, we give them a powerful propaganda weapon.

When Mr. Acheson announces another conference, he will be denounced as an appeaser. He might well reply in the words of the Holy Father's Christmas address:

If a regrettable conflict would occur today, weapons would prove so destructive as to make the earth "void and empty," a desolate chaos, like to a desert over which the sun is not rising, but setting . . . the danger demands that we make the most of every opportune circumstance . . .

These words express mankind's universal hope that no possibility of reaching an honorable peace may be left unexplored.

# **Indo-China: southward Mao?**

**Richard L-G. Deverall**

"The road to Paris is through Peiping," prophesied Lenin. As we fight in Korea and plan the defense of the West, one tentacle of the Red octopus reaches down from China into Southeast Asia to cut off European supplies and trade, warns Richard Deverall. Mr. Deverall has spent several years in the Orient, and plans soon to return.

ON CHRISTMAS EVE of 1950, Chinese Soviet Army Commander Chu Teh spoke at Peking to a delegation that had just returned from the Warsaw "peace" conference. Ventilating China's "peaceful" intentions in Korea, General Chu Teh thundered: "We will drive them [the UN forces] back by our might if the United States will not withdraw from Korea and Taiwan." Obviously Chu Teh is not interested in peace, for he boasted that, owing to China's thrust into Korea, the "anti-imperialist feelings of the various Asiatic nations" will be pushed to "a new record height."

Anyone who has read the published proceedings of the so-called "labor conference" staged by the World Federation of Trade Unions at Peiping during November and December of 1949 knows full well that Korean aggression was planned months before the North Koreans plunged southwards towards Seoul. Action in Korea was listed as the first of several thrusts —*thrusts planned by Red China, North Korea and the Soviet Union*. Anyone who was in Asia during 1949-1950 and visited Communist party bookstores knows that the sales emphasis on Korean pamphlets and Korean "white papers" was noticeable months before the actual aggression took place.

The Korean adventure is part of a great plan. It follows directly the line of Tsarist imperialism and the imperialist drive of the Soviet Union to communize Asia, to realize the prophecy of Lenin that "the road to Paris is through Peiping." When Mao Tze-tung met with Stalin in the Kremlin in February of 1950 to conclude the Chinese-Soviet military assistance pact, it was clear that the Kremlin aimed at expansion of Red China's military role in Asia while at the same time forestalling any rearming of Japan. The Korean adventure puts the Kremlin and its Asian agents in China directly to the north and west of Japan, and simplifies the process of Communist subversion of that country. The "liberation" has secured Manchuria's southeastern border and given the Soviet Union more warm-water ports and airfields, even if the people are starving in Korea and the large cities are a shambles. Perhaps even more important to the purposes of world communism, the Korean adventure is a terrible object lesson for the rest of Asia, showing what happens when a free country resists Communist aggression.

Late in November of 1950, Red Chinese General Wu Hsiu-chuan addressed the United Nations Security Council in one of the most amazing addresses of 1950. Although General Wu was summoned to discuss Red China and Korea, the General devoted part of his address to remarks about Indo-China. He said that Amer-

ican aid to non-Communist elements in Indo-China would bring Chinese intervention (more "volunteers" there?). Declared the iron-fisted Wu:

The United States' armed aggression against Taiwan is inseparable from its interference in the internal affairs of the Vietnam Republic, its support of the French aggressors and their Bao Dai puppet regime, and its armed attack on the Vietnam people. The people of the entire world know that France is the aggressor against Vietnam. . . . In supporting this aggressor . . . the United States Government aims not only at aggression against Vietnam but also at threatening the borders of the People's Republic of China. The Chinese people cannot but be deeply concerned with the unfolding of the aggressive plot of the United States Government against Vietnam.

Challenged the Chinese Soviet general: "Yielding neither to the enticements nor to the threats of American imperialism, they [Asian Communists] will fight dauntlessly on to win the final victory in their struggle for national independence."

## **PATTERN OF CONQUEST**

And then, in one of those backhanded master strokes which reveal the true intentions of the accuser, General Wu compared the United States to militarist Japan, cited Baron Giichi Tanaka's so-called "Tanaka Memorial," which, General Wu said, comprehended the following: "To conquer the world, one must first conquer Asia; to conquer Asia, one must first conquer China; to conquer China one must first conquer Manchuria and Mongolia; to conquer Manchuria and Mongolia, one must first conquer Korea and Taiwan." American "imperialist" strategy was supposed to be following this plan.

General Wu, of course, overlooked the historic fact that the Tanaka Memorial actually envisaged initial conquest of Korea to conquer Manchuria, Manchuria to conquer China, and China to conquer the world. This is Russian, not American, imperial strategy.

Survey the situation. The huge land mass of China is under the domination of the Chinese Soviet regime. *That is a fact*. Manchuria is under joint Chinese-Soviet domination. *That is fact*. Thus the Soviet Union has through military aid and the ideology of Stalinism co-informed part of Korea, all of Manchuria, China proper. *That is a fact*. Taiwan remains in the hands of Chiang Kai-shek, but Chiang's hands are tied so he cannot either aid the UN in Korea or launch an all-out attack on the Communist-held mainland. *That, too, is a fact*. Last spring, Red China invaded and reduced the vital island of Hainan, mid-way between Hong-

kong and French Indo-China. *That is a fact.* American aid to the non-Communist forces in Indo-China is thus properly seen not as a threat to Red China, as General Wu alleges, but as an American block to Chinese aggression against Indo-China and Southeast Asia.

Ever since the Japanese surrender, the Communist master-plan for the conquest of Southeast Asia has followed a carefully developed route. Initially the Communists built a trade-union and political base in Indo-China and Southeast Asia through the World Federation of Trade Unions. They tried to use general strikes and terror tactics in capturing political power. In this tactic they failed, switched to the "get tough" policy of Zhdanov, as guerrilla warfare mounted in Indo-China and Southeast Asia. And, once the Chinese Communists and their Soviet backers had driven the Nationalist armies either out of China or into their own ranks, the stage was set by late 1949 for the next major move. That was when the "labor conference" was held in Peiping. *Obviously, the Korean campaign was to serve as a warning to Asia, as well as a feint thrust to secure Korea, before China dared to move southwards along the path initially blazed by Hideki Tojo.*

During 1950, the Chinese Soviets have increasingly given aid to the forces commanded by Ho Chi-minh, head of the Communist forces in Indo-China. As the French say, Ho Chi-minh now no longer commands guerrilla forces but a well-trained, well-equipped army. Many of these troops have been (and are) trained in Red China and, since the capture of Hainan Island by the Reds, Vietnam's precarious hold on the major port cities of Indo-China has been outflanked in the north from the east. Opposing Ho's forces are perhaps 150,000 French, mercenary and native troops fighting in Indo-China today, and the most optimistic observers describe their military situation there as "desperate."

Meanwhile, in January of 1950, the Chinese Soviet regime led in extending "diplomatic recognition" to the guerrilla regime of Comintern agent Ho Chi-minh. Thus the Peking newspaper *Jen Min Jih-pao* proclaimed (as reproduced in *Izvestia*, 1/21/50):

The Chinese people extend a warm welcome to the Vietnam Democratic Republic as their friendly neighbor, and are confident that the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Vietnam will mark a great event in the struggle for national liberation in the Orient. The victory of the Chinese Revolution and the fact that a large part of the territory of Vietnam has already been liberated have laid the foundations for the establishment of relations between China and Vietnam. . . . The liberation of the greater part of the territory of Vietnam . . . is driving a sharp wedge into the imperialist front in Southeast Asia. The establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Vietnam constitutes a new and imposing factor, an inspiration to the struggle for

liberation which is being waged by all the oppressed peoples of Southeast Asia.

Subsequently, on January 30, Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Vishinsky sent a message to Hoang Minh Ziam, Foreign Minister of the so-called Democratic Republic of Vietnam, in which Vishinsky said:

The Government of the USSR hereby acknowledges the receipt of President Ho Chi-minh's message of January 14th. . . . After examining the proposal of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and further taking into consideration the fact that the Democratic Republic . . . represents an overwhelming majority of the country's population, the Soviet Government has decided to establish diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and to exchange ambassadors.

Significantly, perhaps, Red China did not at once send any ambassador to the "Democratic Republic of Vietnam," but within a month after General Wu thundered his threats at the United Nations, Peiping accepted Ho Chi-minh's agent, Hoang Van Hoan, as Ambassador to the Chinese Soviet regime.

Meanwhile, during 1950, the United States sent survey teams to Indo-China and set up an ECA mission to that country in Saigon. A Paris report last November noted that the United States was stepping-up its six-months-old program of transferring

"destroyers, transports, landing craft and coastal patrol vessels" to the French for use under the French flag in Indo-Chinese waters. Reports from Washington emphasized that air and other military aid was being rushed to the French forces there and indicated that, after Korea, arms shipments to Indo-China enjoyed the highest priority. Said one report: "General MacArthur has been fully informed of this situation and is expected to help expedite these arms to Indo-China." On December 23 in Saigon U. S. Minister Donald Heath declared: "I can only say to you that military aid has been arriving for months and in increasing volume and that all types of equipment are included."

Thus we find a French colonial Power fighting for its life in Indo-China, backed by military aid from the United States, while in Indo-China's Vietnam Communist-controlled areas, the swelling forces led by Ho Chi-minh are backed by the Chinese Soviets and the Soviet Union. *As in Korea, Uncle Sam is involved in the makings of what may be the next all-out shooting war in Asia.*

The internal situation of Indo-China is one requiring an extended discussion, but certainly the backing by the Soviet Union of Communist forces there, coupled with the open aid of Red China, gives clear indication that in 1951 Mao will, if unopposed, sweep southward to follow the 1941 path of the Japanese Imperial Army.

In this sweep across Indo-China, and perhaps on



through Thailand to the conquest of British Malaya, the Red Chinese can depend on local Communist parties, guerrilla units, exploitation of the large minority populations of Chinese in Thailand and Malaya and, above all, on the resentment against the white man fed first by the Japanese and now raised to fever pitch by the Cominform and the Chinese Communists. What this will mean to the Western world may be seen, for example, in the simple fact that, if Malaya falls, *Britain loses dollar income equal to fifty per cent of the entire dollar income deriving from Britain's exports.* Even more significant, the fall of this important sector of Southeast Asia, following on the heels of the Korean tragedy, would torpedo already sagging hopes in other not yet conquered countries of Southeast Asia. While we fight on in Korea, as we must, we cannot overlook the developing crisis in Indo-China, which may in a short time see Red Chinese extension into a greater East Asia War.

While I thoroughly and fundamentally disagree with the views of ex-President Herbert Hoover and his theory of "hemispheric defense," at the same time I

believe that if we disperse our military strength over too vast an area we may find our rear undefended. For today the lines are drawn again. We have declared the existence of a national emergency; Chinese assets have been frozen; Sino-United States trade is rapidly coming to a standstill. Perhaps, this time, Chinese General Wu has delivered the message which may historically prove to be the Communist ultimatum to the democracies. The United States, however, cannot afford to be drawn into a war with China in Indo-China. We can participate in United Nations action to stop Chinese Soviet aggression there, if the free world is ready to oppose its united forces to those Russia has united under the banner of Marxist imperialism.

We waited too long in Korea, despite every warning sign that the hour of crisis had struck. Will we wait too long in Indo-China? Or does the United Nations have the courage to take this crisis by the forelock and bring to a halt the aggressive push of Stalin and Mao Tse-tung?

Mao is moving southwards. And 1951 will be the year of armed decision in Southeast Asia.

## What about the manpower shortage?

**Benjamin L. Masse**

AS THE KOREAN WAR has developed, it has heavily re-emphasized an old military truth which the United States, because of its tremendous scientific and industrial progress, was in danger of forgetting. The old truth is that in war there is no substitute for manpower.

Save during the first few weeks of the fighting, the United Nations forces in Korea have had complete technical superiority. Our men were better gunned than the enemy. Their transport was as superior as the jeep is to the ox-cart. They enjoyed complete and almost unchallenged control of the sea and air. Nevertheless, the gallant UN army is now fighting a defensive action and is in some danger of being pushed out of Korea. The Communists answered American technology with overwhelming superiority in manpower, and manpower is winning the war. So long as the numerical preponderance of the enemy was not too great, we could and did successfully offset it with superiority of equipment. We drove the North Koreans back across the Thirty-eighth Parallel and almost into Manchuria. When the Chinese Communists intervened with a half-million men, however, the jig was up. Our planes and tanks and artillery were unable to stop them.

The lesson seems to be that there is a point beyond which modern weapons cannot nullify superiority in manpower. The foot soldier may fly to battle in a

*Because of our great industrial and scientific progress, says AMERICA's industrial-relations editor, we are likely to forget that there is no substitute for manpower in defense. Has the U. S. enough people to man our armed services and defense industries? If not, where can we look for more? Father Masse here analyzes the needs and the supply.*

plane, or be transported in a jeep, but if the war is to be won, he must be there in sizable numbers.

There is another and equally important aspect of the problem of manpower in modern war. Unable to marshal the huge armies at the disposal of our enemies, we must make doubly sure to maintain a clean-cut superiority in production and technology. Otherwise we are doomed. That means a high output of the most modern weapons available, as well as a sufficiency of essential civilian goods. In other words, it means maintaining a sound, dynamic and expanding economy. Even Stalin conceded that in World War II American production made the difference between victory and defeat. It remains the chief weapon in our arsenal—the only real hope we have, speaking in purely human terms, of turning aside the dangerously mounting Communist threat to world peace and our national security.

A sound defense economy means more than ample raw materials, new machines, a firm fiscal policy, price and wage controls. It means having adequate manpower, too. Even the most casual newspaper reader is aware that shortages of materials, such as steel, copper, rubber and aluminum, are restricting production now, and may restrict it still more in the future. Is the same reader equally aware of the threatened shortage of manpower, which can also force cutbacks in production? During World War II, we scraped

the bottom of the manpower barrel. Everything indicates that we are likely to do so again.

When the Korean war broke out in June, 1950, nearly 62 million Americans were gainfully employed, about 51 million of them in non-agricultural pursuits. Another 1.3 million were in the armed services. Unemployment, which had hit a postwar peak of 4.7 million in February, had fallen to 3.4 million in June. Five months later, in November, under the impact of the rearmament program, the armed forces had grown to 2.2 million men and women, and civilian employment had increased to more than 63 million. Only about 2.2 million were unemployed. At that time we were devoting to primary military purposes not more than 8 per cent of our total output. Less than one million workers were directly engaged in war work.

#### THE SITUATION TODAY

According to the present mobilization timetable, which developments abroad can quickly upset, the armed services will call an additional 1.2 million men by June, 1951. (Unless Congress changes the draft law, most of these recruits will come from the 19-25 age-bracket.) The number of workers engaged in war production will jump from 750,000 to about 2.4 million. Even allowing for a drop in civilian production, which will free some workers for war jobs, these demands will place considerable strain on our manpower resources. By dipping into the pool of unemployed, by putting the June, 1951, graduates to work, by extending the work-week, employers will manage to get by. There will be local shortages—and shortages of skilled workers—but there will be no real manpower crisis. On the other hand, *we shall have taken up practically all the slack in the labor force*, which in June, 1950 totaled 65.4 million men and women. Unemployment will have shrunk to 1.5 million, which is not far away from the irreducible minimum. What do we do, then, in the event some new Kremlin aggression should force us into total mobilization? And remember, total mobilization means a minimum of 13 million men and women in the armed services, and another 11 million in war production.

Let's take a look at the manpower reserves available outside the labor force.

There is, first, a reservoir of about 7.8 million males over the age of fourteen. Unfortunately, the age distribution of these men is such that they will furnish only a limited number of recruits to the work force. Nearly 4 million of them are fifty-five years old, or older. About a million more fall into the 25-54 group. In the critical 20-24 category, there are only about 625,000, an unusually small number which reflects the low birth rate during the depression years. The remainder, about 2½ million, are in the 14-19 group, and most of these are in school.

The possibilities of using the over-fifty-five group are strictly limited. If a fourth of them are willing and able to get back into harness, that is about all the country can expect. The million men between 25 and

54 don't offer much hope either, else they would be in the work force now. Most of the men in the early twenties will be called upon to serve in the armed services, rather than in industry. That will be true of the 19-year-olds, also, and perhaps of the 18-year-olds as well. That leaves only the boys from 14 to 17, who for the present will remain in school.

#### SUPPLY OF WOMEN

The female population offers a more promising prospect, though this must not be exaggerated. As of June, 1950, there were outside the work force about 36.5 million women over the age of 14. That is an impressive number, and no doubt many of these women, as happened during World War II, will be prepared to exchange aprons and dresses for slacks and overalls. But not so many as one might suspect.

In the first place, a large number of the women who entered industry during World War II remained there. It is reasonable to presume, therefore, that proportionately fewer women will enter factories this time.

In the second place, a large percentage of the female population is fifty-five or older, somewhere between a third and a fourth. Furthermore, as with the men, the age-group 20-24 is abnormally small. There are only about 3 million women in that group outside the work force.

Finally, the marital status of the female group is unfavorable to employment. More than 28 million of these women are married and are keeping house. In addition, an exceptionally large number have small children, a reflection of the high marriage and birth rates during and after World War II. Between 1940 and July, 1949 there was a big increase in the number of children under 10 years of age—from 21 to 29 million. Since this is the age when children most need a mother's care, many married women will decide, and rightly, that their primary war duty lies in the home.

When all these factors are given due consideration, one might reasonably guess that the female population not now in the labor force will contribute about 8 million workers. That would bring the total number of women in the labor force to a little more than 19 million.

Under conditions of total mobilization, therefore, we can only conclude that the country will be confronted with a very serious manpower shortage.

If, under conditions of total mobilization, employment is maintained at a 63-million level, the total manpower demand, allowing for 13 million in the armed services, comes to 76 million. That is roughly 12 million more than the total of those employed and in the armed services last June. From the existing manpower pool—the unemployed plus the 42.1 million men and women over fourteen years of age—probably 8 million can be readily recruited. That leaves a deficit of 4 million. Some of the deficit can be made up by increasing the length of the work week. The rest of it might be met by such draconian measures as a labor draft of women. But the margin of safety would be peril-

ously small. Nor should it be overlooked that employment at the 63-million figure means a very drastic cut in civilian production and services. Almost that many were employed in June when only 7 per cent of the national product was going to defense.

#### SURPLUSES ABROAD

During World War II, manpower remained a problem right to the end. In various ways—controlled hiring, priorities for war plants, crusades against absenteeism—labor and management cooperated with the Government to make the best use of available resources. In addition, the Government imported workers from Mexico and the Caribbean area. All these expedients will be used again. The dimensions of the potential manpower shortage are such, however, that a more radical approach seems indicated. One possibility is a labor draft, but this is so foreign to our mentality that it will be used only as a last resort. Another possibility which, so far as I know, has not even been considered in Washington, lies in utilizing the big labor surplus in Western Europe. This deserves the serious and immediate attention of the Congress.

Last year the International Labor Office made a special study of the demographic problem of Western Europe. Any day now its report should be in the hands of interested nations, including the United States. The

report will show that "a minimum of 3 to 4 million workers plus the members of their families are at present available for emigration." That means a total of between 10 and 12 million people. The ILO experts have taken into consideration the expanding rearmament programs of Western Europe and the bigger armies called for under the Atlantic Pact. They still see a need for mass migration. Italy, where 1.7 million are now unemployed, and Western Germany, whose population has jumped 8 or 9 million over pre-war and which has currently 1.7 million unemployed, cannot possibly use their available manpower.

Why not liberalize our immigration quotas and bring a million or more of these workers to the United States? Under present circumstances our immigration policy is dangerously unrealistic. Partly the product of race prejudice and depression thinking, that policy may have seemed reasonable in normal times. It has no justification now. The Europeans who would enter the United States under liberalized immigration laws would deprive no American of a job. Many of the younger men among them would be eligible for service in the armed forces. A fair proportion could help to relieve the shortage of skilled workers. Practically all of them can be counted on to become good, industrious, loyal citizens. The need is obvious. The supply is there. What are we waiting for?

## Catholics and the Bible

**Robert C. Hartnett, S.J.**

BACK ABOUT 1936, when it was my pleasure to be a guest of the late Wilfrid Meynell at 47 Palace Court in London, he recounted how Cardinal Manning one day marched into the office of the *Register*. (This was the Cardinal's journal, and Wilfrid was his editor.) "How I wish I could convince my flock," His Eminence exclaimed, "that the Bible is *not* on the *Index*!" Himself a convert from Anglicanism, Manning was dismayed to find so little interest in Holy Scripture among Catholics.

One has to admit, I think, that the average Catholic's acquaintance with the inspired Word of God leaves much to be desired. Perhaps the chief reason for this apathy is historical. The Protestant Reformation set up a false conflict between the Book and the Church. Martin Luther and the other reformers revolted against the authority of the Church and substituted for it the authority of Holy Writ, privately interpreted. In judging the true meaning of the Word of God, every individual was equivalently declared to be his own church, and the Church of Christ became for many merely a communion of people who, each after his own fashion, "sought Christ" in the Scriptures.

*For some years the Episcopal Committee of the Fraternity of Christian Doctrine has requested the Catholic Biblical Association to promote Septuagesima Sunday, which falls on January 21 this year, as "Biblical Sunday." AMERICA's Editor here explains why all Catholics should take this occasion to show greater interest in reading Holy Scripture.*

This exalting of Scripture as the rule of faith, combined with the rejection of the Church as the authoritative interpreter of the meaning of Scripture, has emptied the word "church" of its true meaning as revealed by God. Without an authoritative voice to interpret Scripture, "Bible Christians" have progressively transformed the doctrinal content of God's Word. Being a law unto themselves, they have exercised their alleged option to draw what meaning they chose from the Bible and have formed one "church" after another, each consisting of communicants whose religious ideas, derived from their own views of what Scripture means, possess enough in common to justify their banding together.

It is easy to see what has happened to the Church of Christ in this process. By deciding that now this doctrine and now that is not really "contained" in Scripture, people who have used private judgment as their ultimate rule of faith have eliminated the hierarchy, the Holy Trinity, the Incarnation, the priesthood, the sacraments and, in fact, the whole body of supernatural truths revealed by God through Christ, His Son. You get a good example of what this subjec-

tivism leads to in Thomas Jefferson. Jefferson disbelieved in miracles, the Holy Trinity, the Incarnation, transsubstantiation, etc. He believed in the "simple" moral teaching of Jesus, which (he was *certain*) had been overlaid with "the deliria of crazy imaginations" by "impious dogmatists." It was all very simple: priests had adorned the "pure principles" which Jesus had taught with "artificial vestments" as "instruments of riches and power for themselves." The great villain was Plato. Priests had "platonized" the simple teachings of Jesus for their own gain.

But it was not only the Church which went completely out of focus through this handling of Scripture. The Word of God was gradually reduced to a merely human document. The Book that was to be the rule of faith suffered the same doctrinal disfiguration as the Church it was to supplant. Jefferson went so far as to compile *Thomas Jefferson's Bible*, leaving out all the "sophistications."

In the first half of the last century the methods of "higher criticism," of judging a historical document on its own merits, entirely apart from traditional beliefs about it, were applied to Scripture. The "merits" of the New Testament, as judged by unbelieving critics, proved to be rather few. For a long time the very existence of Christ was questioned. Fortunately, the defense of the New Testament on purely historical grounds has been extremely successful. But the skepticism and subjectivism which became a habit in those days has persisted. The result is that the Catholic Church, against which Holy Scripture was used by the Reformers, is today the great champion of the Bible as the Word of God.

Controversies which have lasted over a period of four centuries, however, leave their scars. In the controversy whether the teaching Church, or Holy Scripture privately interpreted, was the rule of faith, Catholics naturally remained steadfast in their loyalty to the Church. Less emphasis was placed upon reading the Bible among Catholics than would otherwise have been the case. It has been very unfortunate, too, that this controversy has pretty well spanned the period in which printing and the ability to read have placed the Word of God within reach of everyone.

That the Catholic Church is the divinely appointed custodian of the Bible ought to be well known by every well-instructed Catholic. The books of the Bible were inspired by God precisely for the purpose of being entrusted to the Church and used by her in teaching mankind the truths made known by God through the inspired writings. As far as the New Testament is concerned, of course, the Church existed for about twenty years before any of it was written. Only the Church can tell us what writings have been

inspired by God. Historically, it has been the Catholic Church which has preserved the Scriptures, has defended them against assault and has preserved in its teachings the truths God has made known to us in the holy writings. Apart from the authority of the Church to testify to the authenticity of the books of the Bible and to interpret the meaning of their contents, the Holy Scriptures cannot be clearly identified and certainly cannot be interpreted infallibly. Merely as *historical documents*, the books of the Bible, especially those of the New Testament, stand on the firmest ground. But their being good history does not make them *inspired*, and it is as inspired writings, having God Himself as their author, that the Old and New Testaments are so meaningful to believers.

#### WHY WE SHOULD READ THE BIBLE

At this time of the year, as we approach Biblical Sunday, January 21, every Catholic should take a renewed interest in the volume which is, in every way, simply unique among the writings we possess. That is why the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine has set aside Biblical Sunday—to try to create among Catholics a fuller understanding of this precious possession and more interest in making Bible-reading a part of our lives.

It seems almost discourteous to God to discuss why we should read Holy Scripture. If God wrote each of us a long letter, would we put it aside unread? Yet God has inspired the human writers of Holy Writ to say what they said *for us to read*. Strictly speaking, we do not *have* to read the Bible to be good Catholics. God committed the sacred writings to the Church, which makes their contents known to us

through the catechism, through the brief excerpts from the Gospels and Epistles read every Sunday at Mass and through the whole range of religious instruction we get as Catholics. We certainly do not have to read through the entire Old Testament, which was a foreshadowing of the New. But the fact remains: the Bible is the one book in the world authored by the God who made us, who presides over our lives and with whom we are destined to spend our joyful eternity. He is our Father. He loves us with an infinite love. He has poured forth His love in writing. It is almost inconceivable that we should not be interested in reading what He has inspired men to write for our guidance and instruction and consolation.

The principal reason for reading the New Testament is to learn more about Our Lord. Jesus is revealed by the evangelists in the gospels as no preacher can portray Him, as no historian or biographer can "reconstruct" Him for us. There we have the simple, unadorned account of what He said and what He did put down for us by His companions, the men who



saw Him, talked with Him, listened to Him, watched Him. Everything that life means to us in faith, in hope, in love, is there. We are all called to be "other Christs." If we buy books by experts to learn how to play golf, or how to manage our business, we certainly should buy a copy of the New Testament to learn how to live our lives on the model God Our Father has given us in his Son.

#### HOW TO BEGIN

I hope that those who know a great deal more about the Bible than I do will not take serious issue with me if I restrict myself to the New Testament and point out *one* way in which reading it can be endowed with an added interest. Perhaps we need a little help, since the story told in the New Testament is not going to be novel.

The first thing to realize is that the four evangelists differ considerably in the way they portray the life of Christ. St. Mark's account is the simplest. He was a companion of St. Peter, and set about, it seems, to put down in writing the teaching of St. Peter. Many will want to start with St. Mark and work out from there.

The Gospel according to St. Matthew has several distinguishing characteristics. Matthew, of course, was one of the twelve. For one thing, his account seems to have been written especially to convince the Jews. It has quite a few references to the Old Testament, as if to point out to the Jews how completely Jesus fulfilled the prophecies about the Messias. Then, too, the first Gospel is often called the "Gospel of the Church." The classic passage in which Jesus empowers the Apostles to "bind and loose" is here. So is the solemn sentence: "Thou art Peter; and upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it" (16:18). And in Matthew Jesus is portrayed so clearly as the *Redeemer*.

My own favorite, I confess, is St. Luke. Luke was a physician, a companion of St. Paul, who mentions him by name (*Colossians*, 4:10-14). Luke might be called the historian of Our Lady on account of his extended description of the Annunciation, Visitation, Nativity and Finding in the Temple in his first two chapters. More than that, he is the evangelist par excellence of the parables. The third gospel simply luxuriates in these story-comparisons Our Lord used to make His teaching vivid—and sometimes even to veil it. Like a good physician, Luke has a profound sense of compassion. I have noticed in reading him how he seems to alternate the severe sayings of Our Lord with the merciful.

These three gospels have a great deal in common. In general, they begin as the human history of Jesus and rise to the height of His divinity gradually, the way Our Lord revealed Himself to men. St. John in the fourth gospel is quite different. He begins on the summit: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God." His prolog, of course, is used as the majestic last Gospel in the Mass.

St. John might be called the evangelist of the Sacred Heart of Jesus. He describes the wedding feast of Cana, the woman taken in adultery, the man born blind to whom Jesus restored the gift of sight. This is the account in which Jesus describes himself as the Good Shepherd. The touching episode of the raising of Lazarus is one of the gems of St. John. The humility of Jesus is vividly highlighted in the story of the way he deigned to wash His disciples' feet. At the same time, the sublimity of Jesus as the Christ, the anointed Son of God, reaches full diapason in St. John. There is nothing in the other accounts like Our Lord's discourse after the Last Supper given here (cc. 14-16).

If you approach each of the four evangelists anxious to catch his special spirit, anxious to find out just how he shared in the "riches of Christ," it makes you more attentive. Every word in every account is precious, of course. But some passages will, under God's warm grace, touch you more deeply than others.

#### DIFFERENT VERSIONS

When a person sets out to read the Gospels—and I have no space to illustrate how one might go about reading other parts of Holy Scripture—he may want to make sure that it is going to be a *personal* project, not just something "one ought to do." One can personalize it in the selection of the version to be read.

The Douay version, revised by Bishop Challoner, is the old standard version. In it, each verse is printed as a separate paragraph, two columns to a page. The wording is the one we are used to from our school days and from sermons.

The Confraternity of Christian Doctrine recently published a rather thoroughgoing revision of Bishop Challoner's version. The paragraphing is conventional—in fact, the Confraternity text has restored the original Rheims-Douay style in this respect. The lines run across the page as in all modern printed books.

Many will undoubtedly prefer Monsignor Ronald Knox's *The New Testament in English*, published by Sheed and Ward. Monsignor Knox is a master of both Greek (the original language of the New Testament) and English. Some critics have judged that the gospels in this version are not so much a triumph as are the epistles. Certainly, for the reading of St. Paul the Knox version is exquisite.

The late Very Rev. Francis Aloysius Spencer, O.P., translated, and Frs. Callan and McHugh edited, the New Testament, done from the original Greek. From Britain we also have a fresh translation from the original Greek, edited by Rev. Cuthbert Lattey, S.J., in the Westminster Version. The translation is very good, but the type is rather small in the one-volume compendium of the Westminster series.

There never was a time when Catholics were called upon to be more Christlike than today. Apart from prayer and the sacraments, it is hard to see what will help them more to rise to the full stature of Christ than a prayerful reading, perhaps a chapter a day, of the portrayal God inspired of His Divine Son.

# Respectfully submitted

Harold C. Gardiner

I HAVE IT on authoritative information (as foreign correspondents always say) that reports are always "respectfully submitted." Well, since this is by way of being a modest report, I must play the game according to Hoyle or comport myself *à la Post* and submit it respectfully—not, of course, that I would be other than respectful even if this were not a report.

But what am I reporting? Just a little inside information about the various trials, triumphs and machinations of the book-review department of AMERICA for the past year. I have often thought that you must have wondered just what goes on in the three-column section of AMERICA. So, this statement is by way of enlightenment.

The idea was suggested by a report that appeared in the December 31 issue of the New York *Times* Book Review section. This section appears weekly, as you know, and handles a much greater volume of books than AMERICA's book columns can possibly hope to. The *Times*' section averages about twenty pages with five columns to a page; AMERICA devotes on an average of seven columns a week to reviews. Still, a comparison on a percentage basis may not be too brash. In fact, it may subject me to the temptation of turning this report from a modest one into a smug one. Well, let's see.

The *Times* in 1950, says David Dempsey in his "In and Out of Books" columns, received for review just about 7,100 books, or two-thirds of the 10,663 books that had been published up to the first of December. Of these 7,100 books, 2,500 "were deemed of sufficient importance and general interest to be reviewed." In other words, 35.2 per cent of the books the *Times* received got reviewed.

For the same period AMERICA received 1,150 books for review and 370 finally muscled their way into review space in its columns, which is, I believe, 32 per cent. I have not included here additional books that were briefly reviewed in the two semi-annual round-ups.

If you are wondering why the *Times* receives about six times as many books for review as we do, you might recall that the *Times* reviews, for example, mysteries, Westerns, art books, dictionaries, encyclopedias and so on, and, in addition, many books which, despite Mr. Dempsey's claim for their "general interest," are actually quite specialized (a recent book, for example, on the art of papermaking).

Of the 2,500 books reviewed in the *Times*, 157 were best sellers; of AMERICA's 370, 42 were in that bracket (22 in fiction, 20 in non-fiction). That gives AMERICA a percentage of .113, the *Times* a percentage of .062—whatever those figures may prove.

What happened to all the 1,150 books that came into the office here? Too bad you can't ask the secre-

## LITERATURE AND ARTS

tary who has the chore of keeping track of them—she knows. Well, they were unpacked, registered and put on the Lit. Ed.'s shelf for weeding out. Of the total number, 784 were entrusted to the gentle mercies of reviewers, either Staff members or contributing reviewers beyond the sacred editorial walls. These last books had, of course, to be wrapped and mailed (witness said secretary's papercut hands and our postal bill). So you will see that roughly one-third of the books received fell by the wayside immediately (they weren't even considered for review) while a second third got rough or slighting treatment at the reviews' hands and were accordingly banished into outer darkness—*i.e.*, the review didn't get published. In either case, I hope you will feel that we saved you some time and energy by *not* reviewing books we thought just would not interest you or books with which you wouldn't care to be found dead.

Those are the figures, then, for what they will prove to you. Lots of people love to run their eyes down a list of statistics, and so I hope my respectful report has pleased them. But for them and for those whose mathematical obtuseness (myself included, for Fr. Keenan had to check all my numerical gyrations) allows them little joy in juggling figures, I would like to add a point that does not strike the eye from the above tables.

Have you ever considered the loyal and selfless work our reviewers do? There is, of course, a certain satisfaction for them in seeing their names in print (*one* of the last infirmities of noble minds?), and we hope a particular satisfaction in seeing their names in AMERICA, but they do, in addition, a lot of hidden work. It is their evaluation of a book which will in many instances determine whether it is worth space in our columns or not. In practice they spend about one-third of their time in making evaluations for the Lit. Ed., so that our office can give information about, and judgments of, books that never get even a short notice in AMERICA's columns.

This is the first time I have done what I ought to have done annually and publicly for the past ten years—thank the reviewing staff of AMERICA. I do so now with utmost sincerity. And so my modest report does turn out, as I suspected, to be a rather proud one, but the pride is based mainly on the fact that AMERICA'S

reviewers think enough of AMERICA to serve so faithfully—and often, it must seem to them, so fruitlessly.

To all readers, then, this report is submitted respectfully. To our reviewers, it is submitted respectfully and gratefully.

## James Stephens: (Feb. 2, 1882—Dec. 26, 1950)

James Joyce always declared that the Irish contemporary he admired most and the only one capable of eking out the intricacies of *Finnegans Wake*, should he die with it unfinished, was his fellow Dubliner, James Stephens. Both writers were born on the same day in the same month in the same year beside "the rivering waters of, hitherandthithering waters of" the peat-brown Liffey which Joyce celebrated, as no other river of earth's rivers has ever been celebrated, in the Druid incantations of *Finnegan*.

Whereas James Joyce, however, hymned "all the liffeying waters of" Anna Livia Plurabelle, as she laved Kilbride and went foaming under Horsepass Bridge, it would not be amiss to say that James Stephens was the Liffey herself, and the speckled salmon that leaped in her headwaters, and the little hares caught in snares along her osiered banks, and the gnarled leprechauns who hid their goblin gold at the roots of trees overhanging her flood, and those green-tressed trees themselves.

Even in his own day and his own land there were greater poets than James Stephens—the magus, Yeats, for one—but none with a greater power of natural empathy than he, nor with such a capacity as his for identifying himself, not with the historical, but with the mythical past of his native Eire. Other poets have been successfully mythopoeic. James Stephens was a part of the myth he wrote about. There is always a nonhuman aspect about any poet's gift—in a way, the poet is as much kin to stone and stream as to man—and Stephens possessed this queerest of qualities to the highest possible degree.

One looks in vain for much of Catholic Ireland in Stephens' pages. But the natural magic that invests his gods and heroes of the *Túatha de Dánann* is so utterly convincing that one almost wonders if some old chess-player of Tara was not reincarnated in his knobby frame, one of those who overheard the high words that passed between Etain and the High King. There is about Stephens nothing of the colored smoke of spurious occultism which cloys Yeats' "Celtic twilight." For once a critic hit it on the head when Fred B. Millet wrote that Stephens' spirit struck him as "that of a secretive and uncannily observant gnome." A Mediterranean, noticing his mobile lips, long arms and short torso, might have thought, rather, of classic woodland things like fauns and pans and satyrs. I remember him as a spry leprechaun with a deep-toned cello in his Irish throat on the two occasions when he visited Buffalo. (Most poets, incidentally, read their

verse abominably; Stephens read his magnificently.)

And, speaking of leprechauns, it is one of this century's literary ironies that, in the musical comedy, *Finian's Rainbow*, and the comic strip, *Gordo*, millions of Americans should have encountered, and without benefit of acknowledgment, Stephens' famous elfin shoemaker from the wood of Gort na Cloca Mora. (Perhaps it was to escape any imputation of plagiarism that Tin Pan Alley had *Finian's leprechaun* hail from Glocca Mora with two c's and a g.)

*The Crock of Gold*, the little man's original habitat between covers, and one of our generations finest fantasies, is Stephens' best-loved and best-known work; but, speaking for myself at least and, it is possible, for posterity, not his best book. This latter proud title is more fittingly reserved for one of our day's most tremendous feats of the shaping imagination at its imaginative purest: the literally glorious trilogy he drew from the treasure house of the great Irish *Táin Bó Cúailgne—Irish Fairy Tales, In the Land of Youth*, and *Deirdre*. They must be ranked, along with Kipling's *Jungle Books*, Grahame's *Wind in the Willows*, and C. S. Lewis' interplanetary trilogy as the premier achievements, perhaps, of the pure imagination of the past fifty years.

The trilogy is written in a unique sort of prose: nut-flavored, sinewy-supple, antic, high-colored. Stephens declared once "with rage, with resignation, that it is not possible to write prose at all." He was more satisfied with the poetry which, in the end, will probably remain his lesser, even his less poetic, accomplishment. He thought of poetry as the real residue of action, passion, thought; and proclaimed that "when, by a chance, something of this quality of actual Being is caught into thought, we recognize it with delight and cry: this is poetry." The point, after all, is not whether one is a major or a minor poet, but whether one is a genuine poet. And Stephens was an authentic poet, if there ever was one. Angus Og and the Dárga, as well as Apollo, had twitted his tingling ears.

Well, James Stephens is dead now—by a singular twist of Providence, for he was a good faun, he died on the feast of Stephen—but it is very hard to think of James Stephens dying. Surely he is only translated into another mode of being. The fairy host still rides o' nights to Knocknarea and, after it, hell for leather now, gallops the monstrous black Pooka, J. Stephens up, first jockey of the Sidhe, stopping only long enough for a savorsome crack with the eaglecock of Ballygawley Hill. Or perhaps, in the hazel copses of Gort na Cloca Mora, a fourth centaur has joined the three James Stephens once saw

In furious brotherhood! Around, about,  
They charged, they swerved, they leaped!

Then, bound on bound,  
They raced into the wood!

CHARLES A. BRADY

(Charles A. Brady, chairman of the English Department at Canisius College, Buffalo, is a weekly book columnist for the Buffalo Evening News, and winner of the Archbishop Cushing Award for Poetry, 1949.)

## **Program for crisis**

### **POLICY FOR THE WEST**

*By Barbara Ward.* Norton. 317p. \$3.75.

Writers, professors and lecturers manufacture plans by the dozen for reconstructing the international order on broad political and economic lines. Economists, on the other hand, are busy probing into all the strengths and weaknesses of the capitalistic and the Marxist systems. Most of this discussion is heavy going when it really comes to grips with the tangled world situation; and the parts in the whole picture are disjointed. The genius of Barbara Ward, a former editor of the London *Economist* and author of *The West at Bay*, lies in her ability to engage in two very skilled performances. She summarizes contemporary history easily and accurately; and she has a particular gift, born of long practice in teaching and specialized journalism, in simplifying and popularizing intricate details of the big economic issues of the day. Just why she stresses economics she explains with her usual clarity:

After pages and pages [of this book] devoted to the discussion of full employment, or free trade or convertible currencies, the reader may easily conclude that perhaps the Marxists are right after all and that the basis of reality is economics, and economic issues determine all the rest. The impression is entirely misleading. Economics tend to receive predominant attention because they make up such a large part of the details of policy—once that policy has been decided. . . . Far and away the two most significant decisions in post-war Europe have been the Marshall Plan and the Atlantic Pact. Both decisions were essentially and entirely political. Yet the negotiations, the expedients, the policies and the problems to which they have given rise have been economic. This obvious fact has nothing to do with the primacy of economics. . . . It was political judgment of Europe's plight and Russia's pressure that led to the American initiative.

It is as an exponent, therefore, of political doctrine and that doctrine's economic implications that Miss Ward will naturally be judged.

In her over-all perspective the grim task of military defense will defeat itself unless it is accompanied by a steady and sharp look at Karl Marx's "long view." We can never leave out of sight the rooted Communist conviction that "history will do communism's work for it since the seeds of destruction are self-sown in the capitalist order of society." Inevitably, in that long view, our economy, and therefore our freedom itself, must succumb to the gluts of "over-production," the struggle for markets and the tyranny of the trade cycle. Since the very errors of communism are a warning against certain truths, our obvious task is to "create world conditions of such strength and stability that even the Soviet leaders cannot underestimate them." To the details of such a policy the major part

of Barbara Ward's book is consecrated.

Three tasks, as she sees them, face the Western Powers today: the building of an effective system of joint defense, the maintenance of stability and expansion in the United States and Europe, and a "new, systematic and much more ambitious effort to raise the standards of backward peoples, particularly in Asia."

She is at pains to remind us that the late terrible German upheaval could be traced in part to the economic aberrations of the West. Facing the crucial question of inflation, she proposes "a variety of measures, none of them disinflationary," which would prevent any flooding of the economy with excessive purchasing power during the critical phase of expansion, but would permit incomes and wages to increase, once the new level of output and prosperity had been reached. Her fundamental safeguard against the booms and depressions of the trade cycle is to be found in an expanding economy's drive to produce more wealth, with the acceptance of the risks involved: risks, however, less than the "degree of grinding need and harsh poverty still prevailing in the world today."



A chapter is devoted to a brief outline of possible policies for expansion. Great as are the differences, the West, in her opinion, could agree upon a certain minimum of economic strategy. As for Asia, its problems cannot be solved by nationalism alone: the inner weaknesses of Asiatic governments are much too great. Nor are economics enough. Assurances of aid must be accompanied by "political warfare." The danger is that the whole Asiatic program may go by default. "We have not yet the statesmanship to see that the two programs [armaments and economic aid] are simply different facets of the same Western need—the need for strength."

As an intense believer in the union of the Atlantic, not merely the European, nations, Miss Ward returns to her favorite theme, the job of reconciling and harmonizing the British Commonwealth and sterling area with the world of the dollar:

Economics based on partnership between Europe, the sterling area and the dollar area will be much more

## **BOOKS**

stable than the "balkanized" trading system we know today. Yet the great fields of new investment lie in Asia, Australia and Africa.

No obstacles, in her opinion, should discourage either the British or the Americans from seeking to bridge this dangerous "dollar gap." At the same time she frankly accuses her own Government and its Foreign Office of blundering stupidity in its treatment of the Schuman Plan.

Since Barbara Ward belongs moderately to the Keynesian school of economics, some of her postulates will not sit well with any type of thought tinted with laissez faire, whose origins she outlines and whose weaknesses she castigates. Yet it is hard to see how any reasonable person could dissent from the driving cogency of her main thesis, or fail to welcome the lucidity with which she develops it. She concludes with an eloquent appeal for "faith for freedom," the West's "revolutionary" and dynamic doctrine, based upon the religious traditions of Jew and Christian, as well as upon the reason of the Greeks. This would be utterly crushed under the primitive, reactionary heel of the totalitarians. Her final appeal might move me still more, I confess, if it added to her many preceding reflections some mention of the need for men to pray. This might be appropriate in a message aimed at statesmen. (Note: there seems to be some confusion as to the heading of Chapter 10.) Let me conclude by congratulating Miss Ward, first, on a more popular and readable book than her already distinguished previous volume; secondly, on a wonderfully capacious summary of many important things that world politicians need to ponder and act upon fast.

JOHN LA FARGE

### **How one crisis came**

#### **THE ROAD TO PEARL HARBOR**

*By Herbert Feis.* Princeton. 356p. \$5.

This is a superior study of the conduct of American foreign policy from the day in 1937 when the Japanese Army marched into China up to the day bombs fell on Pearl Harbor. It is not based solely on printed sources, although these have been used extensively. It is based also upon special access to many sources not yet available to the public at large, including the Roosevelt papers at Hyde Park, the private diaries of Secretaries Stimson and Morgenthau and Ambassador Grew, personal data from various State Department officers who conducted the negotiations, records of the International Military Tri-

bunals for the Far East and at Nuremberg, captured documents, diaries of two high Japanese officials, and special Military Intelligence studies prepared from Japanese source material. The author even laid hands upon the entire file of intercepted Japanese messages decoded by "Magic," which gave valuable information as to secret Japanese intentions.

This mass of information of tremendous value seems to have been ably and objectively handled. What emerges is a picture of the skill of our Government on critical issues. Our full understanding of the accelerated menace arising in the Far East, and patience and adroitness in delaying the apparently inevitable seem to become clear. The present reviewer is far from being sufficiently expert to evaluate the host of detailed interpretations of facts herein contained. But no one is competent, unless he has at hand the material the author had.

Let it be said then that this is at least an amazingly stimulating book. It shows our skill in postponing conflict, and great forbearance in keeping under cover much danger that was known, lest a prematurely aroused public clamor on our part let loose a war for which we were not yet ready. Between us and the Japanese there was no faith. We knew from decoding their diplomatic instructions that their representations were insincere. We did not know that in the early summer of 1941 the chief of the Naval Staff in Japan had told the Emperor that it was doubtful if Japan could win at all. We did not know that in early July of 1941 the Japanese Navy was conducting low-level dive-bombing attacks over mountains in Kagoshima Bay such as they would use later in the Pearl Harbor attack, an attack which was conceived as early as January. But we did know many things. We did know the situation was critical, and we wanted time to prepare ourselves. We wanted, indeed, to avoid a war in the Far East until the menace in Central Europe had been eliminated. All of our skill—of which there is plenty here evidenced—and all of our patience could not avail.

For such a valuable presentation all students of Far Eastern affairs and of the conduct of foreign relations in general should be thankful to the author, and also to the Institute for Advanced Study which made the study and production possible.

ELBRIDGE COLBY

### Quixotic Don

CERVANTES

By Gary MacEoin. Bruce. 223p. \$3.25.

The quatercentenary of Cervantes' birth, celebrated in 1947, made it apparent that there were two needs to be met if the great Spaniard was to regain his prestige with the "common reader." One of these needs was a fresh and faithful translation of *Don Quixote*, and this need has been

met in the new Putnam version. The other was a full-length popular portrait of Cervantes himself, and this need is now met in Gary MacEoin's *Cervantes*, the recently published Bruce Fellowship Biography.

The author of so populous and adventurous a masterpiece as *Quixote* was not likely to have been a recluse, and the present biography amply confirms that assumption. Cervantes' own life was largely that of a vagrant adventurer, and the times and seasons were propitious to one of his extraordinary *élan vital*. The great central incident was, of course, Lepanto, and Mr. MacEoin rightly exploits it. But the biographer paints on a large canvas, and the reader is introduced to such memorable scenes as the student life at Alcalá, the induction of *genízaro*s into the Moslem religion, the ritual and

the objectivity of his portrait. It has to be admitted, nevertheless, that the muddle-headedness of antecedent biographers almost forced Mr. MacEoin—as it had forced Belloc and Walsh before him—to take on the ungenteel burden of the apologete.

The author has a few mannerisms of language which I found distracting. To American ears the suffixes in "Pythagoric," "disciplinal," and "chivalresque" have an unnatural ring. There are blemishes of mispelling, and one instance of misdating (1535 for the opening of the Council of Trent, on p. 61). These are minor, but the number of them is disconcerting, and all of them could have been avoided by a more perceptive reading of the proofs. If the book goes into a second printing—and there is every reason to hope that it will—these animalcules should be eliminated.

JOHN W. SIMONS

### THE SEED AND THE GLORY

By Mary Ellen Evans. McMullen Books. 250p. \$3.

The words of Shaemus O'Shiel, "they went forth to battle, but they always fell," have sometimes been used to characterize the accomplishment of the pioneer Catholic missionaries in the United States. It is often hard to connect their labors with anything striking in the later achievements of localities where they worked and died. One of the satisfactions of this biography of the Dominican friar, Samuel Charles Mazzuchelli, who came to Mid-America in 1830, is that, in telling of his life, the mystery by which a glorious harvest grew from such disintegrated seed is unfolded.

This is of course only the story of one priestly laborer on the American frontier, but the record of how he left the soft loveliness of his native Italy for the stark filthiness of degraded Indian lodges and the raw violence of rearing new settlements is not all it tells. It bares the soul of one of these saintly men, and reveals that spiritual power which does not know death.

Learned historians may push the book aside because it lacks footnotes and an index. They may raise eyebrows because it uses all the acceptable devices of fiction, including direct discourse on the part of its characters. They may question some assertions about Mazzuchelli's Indian prayer-books, city planning, building Iowa's capital and innumerable churches. They may dispute a dozen other historical references throughout the work. In a word, they may call for a definitive biography of the man, which this does not pretend to be. No one, however, will ask for a truer picture of the missionary's spirit. No one may hope to grasp his character with finer intuition or present it with more colorful appeal.

RAPHAEL N. HAMILTON



## THE AMERICAN IMPACT ON RUSSIA, 1784-1917

By Max M. Laserson. Macmillan. 426p. \$5.

Professor Laserson is well qualified to write such a book as this. He was in the Russian Government during the Kerensky Regime, has been a professor in Eastern European universities and here in the United States, and he has written a number of scholarly works in the same field. Laserson presents the above work in an exceedingly fine literary style. Such a study, long needed, stands as a pioneer work in the field. No topic needs more careful analysis than the relations here involved, and such analysis affords a further help in understanding the state of mind of that "enigma within an enigma"—Russia. The material is impartially presented, and shows a careful combing of the sources.

Just why the author attempts in the first chapter to give a digest of the European influence on Russia, when he draws no conclusions from the same, is not clear. More to the point might have been a chapter on the American colonial impact on Russia. The story actually begins with the chapter entitled "Catherine II and the Emergence of the U. S." From this point on, Professor Laserson marshals his material about the personalities of such men as Francis Dana, Gustavus Fox, Alexander Radishchev, Henry George, et al.

That America has been Russia's teacher from the time of Fulton's steamboat down through the development of railroads (including the harnessing of hydro-electric power) is a fact Laserson details well. He also gives a good sketch of our sympathy for Russia during the Crimean War and the Polish uprising. That he gives less attention to the 1830-60 period is justified, since the United States had little energy for making impacts, and Russia's attention was centered on home reform or on opposition to it.

The work of the Narodnaya Volya (a left-wing political organization with branches in the United States) is carefully told for the first time and in the proper framework. Alexander Herzen, who looked to the U. S. for "support and patronage," is given a full chapter. The scientific impact is accentuated by the inclusion of Chernyshevski who, with his philosophical and scientific preconceptions, anticipated much of the biology of modern Russia. Likewise, the effect of the writings of Henry George on Russian economic thought is emphasized.

By far the best chapters are those dealing with the twentieth century. Here much new source-material is used. Magazines and newspapers have been carefully combed to show the attitudes of both sides during the Russo-Japanese War, and so on. The chapter on Russian constitutional thought gives the briefest digest of the

contributions of such Russian scholars as Kovalevski, Ostrogorski and Fortunatov, with frequent quotations from them.

Though some may feel that Laserson omits religious and literary thought from his analysis, he has done a monumental job. The book is a must for students of diplomacy and philosophy.

CHARLES W. TURNER

## THE EYES OF DISCOVERY: The Pageant of North America as Seen by the First Explorers

By John Bakeless. Lippincott. 439p. \$5.

What John Bakeless intended with this unusual book is limpidly clear from the initial paragraph of the preface:

*The Eyes of Discovery* is an effort to describe North America as the first men in each area saw it: landscapes, forests, plains, animals, plants, streams, and Indians, as they existed before the inevitable change that began almost from the instant of the first white settlement. He has attained his goal. Readers familiar with the same author's *Lewis & Clark, Partners in Discovery* (Am. 1/10/48) will expect a thoroughly enjoyable reading experience. They will not be disappointed.

Imagine, if you can, Manhattan Island with wild flowers so fragrant that Jacob Danckaerts "sometimes encountered such a sweet smell in the air that we stood still, because we did not know what it was we were meeting." One hundred and seventy-five years, likewise, have done little to enhance the beauty of the Golden Gate, where once much of the country "was forested with laurel, ash, oaks, and redwoods—full of bears, deer and elk—with some stretches of sand, marsh or green flats near the shore." Those were the days of real sport. In Virginia,

a really bold red fisherman thought nothing of slipping a noose over a big sturgeon's tail and then simply hanging on, drawing breath when he could, no matter where the fish dragged him.... Now and then a sturgeon simply jumped into the canoe.

Grapes hung from the trees along the Mississippi; up the Missouri, "in the real buffalo country, a single herd might extend for twenty-five miles"; and within the mouth of the Columbia River "the banks were covered with forests of the very finest pine trees, fir and spruce, interspersed with Indian settlements."

This unspoiled land, unknown to us who call ourselves natives, is not the product of the author's imagination. He has searched the sources with admirable diligence "but in many cases one can only fill in a description of what the first arrival must have seen, from accounts given by much later and more leisurely travelers, who, facing less difficulty, hardship or danger, had more time to look around them." The result of this approach makes accurate, informative and pleasant reading.

WILLIAM N. BISCHOFF

## THE SCHOLAR ADVENTURERS

By Richard D. Altick. Macmillan. \$5.

Professor Richard D. Altick of Ohio State University has written an entertaining yet solid book on the adventures of literary scholarship. To those who cannot realize the thrill of discovery that might lurk in the dusty corner of some dusty attic, this book should be a revelation, for Professor Altick feels and makes one feel with him that literary scholarship has captured the passions and the imagination of man just as surely as have bacteriology, nuclear physics—and the fine art we associate with Sherlock Holmes.

The appearance of this book just at the time when even the non-literary world is aware of the exciting Malahide-Boswell story is indeed fortunate. Professor Altick gives a full account of this amazing find in what may well be the most interesting chapter in the book. But I shouldn't be surprised if most people did not find the sordid story of Thomas J. Wise, the dean of forgers and the prince of mountebanks, to be the most interesting. This was the highly respected man of letters, the intimate of the leading artists and critics of his day, the lawgiver on any question of bibliography, who was discovered to be the most unprincipled cheat in the history of letters.

There are several other accounts of the highwaymen of English literature, but *The Scholar Adventurers* is by no means just a Kefauver report on the underworld of letters. Most of the book concerns itself with the legitimate and highly ingenious explorations of honest scholars into the unlightened or poorly lightened areas of darkness in English and American letters. There is, for example, a happy chapter on the search for manuscripts (or, to be proper, MSS), and there is an unhappy chapter on what can happen to manuscripts before scholars catch up to them. The story of Professor Root's dating of *Troilus and Cressida*, with the help of the astronomy department of Princeton and a medieval almanac, is told, as is also the contribution of modern science to paleography. And, to illustrate the varieties of technique possible in literary research, Professor Altick gives one whole chapter to Professor Leslie A. Marchand's year-long quest for material on Byron, which took him on a Cook's tour of Europe.

A book such as this could easily become a collection of mere trivia. But, despite a chapter on the "contribution" of medical science to literary history (was Milton an albino; was Byron clubfooted, and if so, what foot?), this book escapes the pitfall. Professor Altick, in one of his early pages, resolves always to make the discoveries of the researchers deepen our appreciation of the particular artist. I believe he has succeeded.

EDWARD J. CRONIN

## SOURCEBOOK ON ATOMIC ENERGY

By Samuel Glasstone. Van Nostrand. 546p. \$2.90.

In 1948 the American Textbook Institute asked the cooperation of the Atomic Energy Commission in writing a source-book for textbook writers. The Institute said there was a great need for textbooks in chemistry and physics, but their textbook writers found it difficult to gather material not only because of restrictions of secrecy but also because so much new material had come in from widely scattered sources.

The Commission worked out a way in which a book, to be a sourcebook for writers, could be produced. This is it. But it is much more than that, as is indicated by a first-edition sale that may make this book a best seller.

Dr. Glasstone, who has written several other highly esteemed technical books, earns with this book an honored place in the reference libraries of the country. Cer-

tainly there should be copies available in every physics and chemistry department.

In 300,000 words, Dr. Glasstone has produced what is practically an encyclopedia on atomic energy in the terms and techniques of nuclear physics today. It is also a coherent and readable history of how the forerunners of modern physics built up the knowledge on which present-day atomic development is based.

In gathering material for the book, Dr. Glasstone became a regular employee of the AEC and was cleared to receive secret information and revisit many of the historic sites of atomic development to get the story of how things were done directly from the persons who first did them. It is a tribute to the foresight and flexibility of the Information Division of the AEC that they cooperated in this huge and historic record.

This is a much more inclusive, and, incidentally, a much more readable book than the Smyth Report. The two together are indispensable for students and teachers in this field.

MICHAEL AMRINE

## THE WORD

*"My friend, I am not doing thee a wrong; did we not agree on a silver piece for thy wages? Take what is thy due, and away with thee; it is my pleasure to give as much to this late-comer as to thee"* (Matt. 20:13; Septuagesima Sunday).

Luigi's is one of those narrow, little shoe-repair shops, and Luigi is its sum total of management and labor personnel. He'll not only repair your shoes while you wait. He'll entertain you meanwhile with a continuous monologue on almost any subject. Usually he has delightfully over-simplified solutions for all the problems that harass the Federal Government, the police force and our generals in Korea. But this particular day his own problems seemed to have gotten out of hand.

"It's awful!" he said as he took my shoes.

At this point one is supposed to ask: "What's wrong, Luigi?" So I did.

"Wrong?" he queried. "Everything, just everything! My wife sick in the hospital, bills coming in from my daughter's wedding and this morning my pipes burst and I get a flood in my cellar. And to get pipes fixed—what prices!" His eyes rolled heavenward.

"What gets me," he continued, "is my neighbor next door. He has no troubles. No troubles at all. He makes big money. He has good health in his family. What's fair about that? And remember, Father, all my life I've said my prayers and gone

to Mass regularly. God is looking after my neighbor. And me. I'm supposed to be good for free?"

Luigi was still complaining when I left. He reminds me of the laborers in Our Lord's parable this Sunday. They were angry with the rich man because he paid the full day's wage to those who had worked only one hour. They were getting what they had been promised for their work. Yet they were dissatisfied because others were getting more. Now maybe we, too, are a little like Luigi and the laborers. Don't we complain to God now and then because others seem to be happier or more fortunate than we are?

The laboring day in the parable represents our life in this world. The rich man is God. The silver piece is eternal salvation. It should be easy to see that God promises us salvation if we are good in this life. He does not promise that we shall have an easy, peaceful time of it. We may have the harder lot, to work the full twelve hours and bear the heat and burden of the day. Others may work but an hour in the cool of the evening. But on the promise of God we shall have eternal salvation.

In spite of Luigi's pessimism there is also a bright side to this picture. Yes, even for the twelve-hour workers, for those of us who have it very hard in this life. Hardships, in Our Lord's kindly eyes, have a way of turning into treasure in heavenly currency. We can always change any hardship into a substantial celestial bank deposit by accepting it patiently and prayerfully as the expression of the benevolent will of God. We can turn our troubles to account, spiritually, if we stop grumbling and thinking only in terms of this passing world.

DANIEL FOGARTY, S.J.

## THEATRE

AN ENEMY OF THE PEOPLE, by Hendrik Ibsen, is a bitter jeremiad which, with Fredric March in the leading role, has the passion and moral earnestness of Cotton Mather thundering against sin. With an actor of less stature and skill playing Dr. Stockman, the central character would be a rather fatuous figure, and the moral indignation of the play would evaporate in a noisy soapbox oration. Mr. March, by investing the role with dignity and eloquence, makes Stockman a man of integrity, although a little wanting in common sense.

Stockman is the health officer of a spa which happens to be the principal industry of his native city. A conscientious man, he discovers that the waters, instead of being healthful, are polluted and more infectious than invigorating. To check on his personal tests, he sends samples of the water to the university in the capital, where his analysis is confirmed. But Stockman, an alert man of science, is socially naive. When he reports his discovery to the authorities of the town, political and financial, he expects them to favor immediate removal of the pollution, an



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Zinn, Elmer, Grand Rapids, Mich.

engineering job which cannot be completed in less than two years. Meanwhile the spa will have to close, with loss of dividends to stockholders; the shops which depend on the spa will lose business; employees of the spa and the shops will be laid off; the town will be forced to reduce the tax levied on the spa, the business interests and the workers.

All those groups, for obvious reasons, are opposed to letting news of the polluted waters leak out. Prevailing opinion inclines toward gradual corrective measures while doing business as usual. Only Dr. Stockman thinks of the people who may be infected while the pollution is gradually removed. He makes an issue of it, and finds all elements of the town solidly against him. He is outmaneuvered and howled down in a public meeting; his daughter is dismissed from her teacher's job; his young sons get bloody noses coming home from school; rocks are thrown at his windows.

This is the stuff of exciting theatre, but far short of logically air-tight Ibsen drama, as represented by *A Doll's House* or *Ghosts*. Besides, the play carries an odor of fascism, of both brown and red varieties, as when the protagonist says: "The majority never has right on its side"; then, after second thought, concedes that "in fifty years the majority may be right."

Whatever its faults, *An Enemy of the People* is challenging drama. As presented in the Broadhurst by Lars Mordenson, and directed by Robert Lewis in a new translation by Arthur Miller, the play is pertinent to the contemporary scene. Ibsen, although unintentionally, presents the case for dictatorship against democracy, tilting the scales in favor of the former.

Sets and costumes were designed by Aline Bernstein. The lights were arranged by Charles Elson. Each made a notable contribution to a fine production of a modern classic that is revived all too seldom.

THEOPHILUS LEWIS

## FILMS

THE MAGNIFICENT YANKEE purports to be a biography of the later years of Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr. Beginning in 1902, when the sixty-one-year-old jurist came to Washington to take his seat as Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, it covers thirty years and winds up when the still alert nonagenarian pulls himself erect to receive a distinguished visitor in the person of the newly inaugurated president, Franklin D. Roosevelt. Within its appointed lapse of time the film says some wholesome and uplifting things. It gives convincing affirmation of the dignity and worth of American

institutions. It shows, in the devotion of the judge and his wife, a touching and inspiring view of an enduring, happy marriage. And, at least in the leading performances of Louis Calhern and Ann Harding, it conveys a feeling for characters of genuine stature. Significantly lacking, however, is any discussion of Holmes' political philosophy. The picture calls him "the great dissenter," but gives scarcely any indication of what he was dissenting from or of the deterministic principles by which he was guided. As a result, it is likely to annoy both the judge's admirers and his detractors, and leave the uninitiated with a peculiarly tame and emasculated impression of a towering and controversial figure. *Family*. (MGM)

BRANDED. Once upon a time, in the days of the cattle barons, the small son of a wealthy Texas rancher (Charles Bickford) was kidnaped and never heard from again. As in all good fairy stories, the boy had an identifying birthmark. Some twenty years later a bad man (Alan Ladd), under the influence of a worse one (Robert Keith), had a reasonable facsimile of the birthmark tattooed onto his shoulder and found employment on the ranch until, according to plan, he was mistaken for the long lost son. Instead of profiting by his duplicity, however, the imposter was regenerated by the milk of human kindness and fell in love with his supposed sister (Mona Freeman). With quixotic selflessness he embarked on a death-defying search for the real son which was crowned with success and a happy ending for everyone concerned—everyone, that is, but the instigator of the wicked scheme, who was conveniently nudged over a cliff by a cattle stampede. This ingenuous fable has been put together with more skill and freshness than the makers of horse operas can generally muster, and has been photographed in Technicolor against some spectacular Western scenery which looks hitherto untrodden by a movie-location crew. The end product is a very passable family film. (Paramount)

DALLAS combines a perennially popular Western plot—a man's desire for personal vengeance—with the current odds-on favorite, the plight of the outlawed Confederate ex-soldier. The doubly wronged hero is Gary Cooper, who poses as a U. S. Marshal to facilitate his private war on the villains of the piece (Raymond Massey and Steve Cochran). How he comes to be posing as the Marshal makes for a lively and unusual opening which the subsequent hackneyed and Technicolored proceedings do not succeed in living up to. Ruth Roman is the leading lady. *Adult*. (Warner)

GROUND FOR MARRIAGE is one of those embarrassing and distasteful so-called romantic farces in which an ex-

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wife and a fiancée vie aggressively in pursuit of the same hapless male. The triangle is composed of Kathryn Grayson, Van Johnson and Paula Raymond, none of whom has a talent for comedy that is visible to the naked eye. It is probable, though, that masters of that delicate art would also be ignominiously routed by a brand of humor pitched monotonously to the level of shouting one another down and throwing things. Miss Grayson, cast understandably enough as an opera singer, contributes some musical interludes which are a welcome relief from the plot. (MGM)

MOIRA WALSH

(AMERICA's moral approval of a film is always expressed by indicating its fitness for either adult or family viewing. Ed.)

## PARADE

FLURRIES OF SOCIAL DISORDER showered trouble upon the social scene. . . . The disorders assumed multiple behavior-forms. . . . Air-tight alibis appeared. . . . In Alpena, Mich., a young man, accused of setting fire to his house, declared: "I couldn't have done it. I was in Detroit that day stealing an auto." . . . Over wide areas, anti-social characters disrupted life in the American home. . . .

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A Chicago citizen entered his house, found a stranger sleeping on the couch. The stranger was wearing the citizen's best necktie. Police arrived, awakened the sleeping figure. . . . Puzzling goings-on were reported. . . . In Columbus, O., a man stepped into a kitchen, nodded to the lady of the house. He then stacked all the chairs upside down, balanced teacups on each upturned leg, left without saying or taking anything. . . . In Media, Pa., a young man pushed his way into a home, forced the housewife at gunpoint to turn on the television set. After enjoying the show, he left, took nothing with him. . . . Old folks were lacking in dignity. . . . In Muskegon, Mich., a fighting sixty-four-year-old grandmother hurled a snowball at a policeman, knocked his hat off. . . . Young folks showed no respect for their elders. . . . In Durham, Ont., a boy directed a snowball at the face of a freight-train engineer. Wiping the snow from his face, the engineer stopped the train, leaped from the cab, energetically spanked the boy.

The judiciary was active. . . . In New Orleans, a judge sentenced a citizen to two hours in prison for contempt of court. . . . In Vancouver, B. C., a woman was sentenced to ten minutes in jail for stealing suits from a dry-cleaning firm. . . . Attitudes were changed. . . . In Wyoming, a recently elected official ran a newspaper ad which said: "All promises made in the heat of the campaign are hereby retracted; they are null and void and of no further value." . . . Tantrums threatened matrimonial plans. . . . In eleven weeks, a young Baltimore couple took out six licenses to wed. The first five they tore up one by one. Said the bridegroom: "She'd get mad, then I'd get mad." Using the sixth license, they were finally married. . . . Strange types of gratitude emerged. . . . In Hollywood, a robber who rifled a cafe's juke boxes left the following note: "I want to thank you kindly, sir. Not one nickel was phony. You know, people are much more honest these days." . . . Rents were lowered. . . . In Rochester, Eng., a resident told rent officials that though he paid \$4.20 for two rooms with bath, he and his family had little use of the bath because his landlady's husband slept thirteen hours a day in the tub.

The disorder in the social scene is caused by the disorder in human wills, which, in turn, springs from the widespread irreligion of today. . . . The twentieth century, hailed as the century of progress and enlightenment, has been striving to manage life on earth without reference to God. . . . The result of this effort is spread out for everyone to see: all over the globe men's hearts today are drying up with fear of the troubles overtaking the whole world. . . . What has been demonstrated often before is now being demonstrated once more: man cannot get along without God.

JOHN A. TOOMEY

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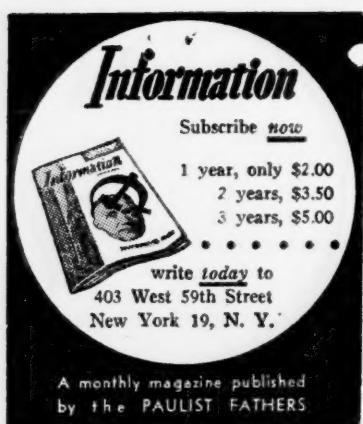
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### What the angels sang

EDITOR: For years, I have been telling my non-Catholic friends that the Christmas message of the angels is "Peace on earth among men of good will" instead of the widely publicized "Peace on earth, good will to men."

This year, I found the "good will to men" on the Christmas cards for sale by one Catholic religious order, and in a letter of appeal from another. Both religious orders are noted for their saints and scholars, so it is easy for error to slip into the best of places, due to pressure or absent-minded proofreaders!

Particularly in these times, we should wish to emphasize the angels' message of "Peace on earth among men of good will." Could not some of our Catholic religious orders and parish pastors exercise more caution in checking the accuracy of biblical quotations and the greetings on their 1951 cards and letters of appeal for alms? M. C.

Detroit, Mich.

(The phrase, "and on earth peace among men of good will" appears in the Archconfraternity of Christian Doctrine's New Testament. Msgr. Knox's version reads ". . . to men that are God's friends." The Westminster Version, by English Catholic scholars, reads ". . . among men of his [God's] good pleasure." Catholic versions prefer readings in which the Greek word thus variously translated appears in the genitive case, preceded by "of" in English, following the earliest Greek manuscripts. But even earlier Greek writers used a Greek text in which the same word appeared in the nominative, "Good will to men." Rev. Hugh Pope, O.P., in his Layman's New Testament, considered the evidence "evenly balanced for both readings." —ED.)

### Hollywood and Asia

EDITOR: Re the McCarthy-Deverall correspondence in AMERICA (1/13/51) about "Hollywood over Asia." In many years of movie-going I do not remember to have seen on the screen 1) a colored policeman patrolling a beat or controlling traffic; 2) a colored nurse on ward duty or assisting at an operation; 3) a colored judge holding court; 4) a colored receptionist or secretary in an executive's office; 5) a colored clerk making a sale in a department store; 6) a colored lawyer trying a case. In *No Way Out*, it is true, a colored doctor was portrayed, but he was obviously an exception.

The total impression from all this—an

impression that would not be lost on the colored peoples of Asia and Africa—is that colored people are simply excluded from the great majority of normal activities and occupations in the United States.

If Hollywood is simply reporting on American life, it should also report that the above occupations and professions are adopted by Negroes; that in many places Negroes and whites work side by side in them. Hollywood has given us *Home of the Brave*, *Gentleman's Agreement* and *No Way Out*; but it has so far failed to adopt the simplest and perhaps the best kind of propaganda for democracy: to show it in action, not to preach about it.

FREDERICK R. CHILDS

New York, N.Y.

### For Catholic service centers

EDITOR: As a regular reader of your very interesting and informative publication, I feel it a duty to confirm the letter (AM 12/16/50) on Catholic recreational facilities for members of the armed services.

Many servicemen, especially younger ones, would welcome activities sponsored by Catholic groups for off-duty recreation.

PFC GAETANO C. LOMBARDO  
Eglin Field, Florida

### Japan overpopulated

EDITOR: In an otherwise splendid article, "The Struggle for Asia," by Richard L.G. Deverall, in your December 2 issue appears a remark that may easily prove misleading. "In Japan—Japanese propaganda to the contrary—there is ample room in the northern island of Hokkaido for 5 million more people."

A reader who is unfamiliar with the population question in Japan may easily conclude that Japan is not overpopulated because one part can take more people. Mr. Deverall himself, I believe, in previous articles has pointed out that Japan's population has long ago risen higher than the meager resources of the nation can provide for.

Excluding Hokkaido, the total area of Japan is less than 120,000 square miles. Practically 80 million people live in this dot of land. Italy, universally lamented as overpopulated, has less than 50 million people for approximately the same land-space.

Japan is overpopulated. If war in the Pacific spreads and makes the importation of food from the States and Asiatic countries more difficult, discontent will probably raise its head.

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